Vol. XXXV. No. 138 *June 1946*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. THEOBALD WOLFE TONE DILLON: 1898-1946 — *Gerard Murphy*

II. JOHN A. RYAN: 1869-1945 .... — *Richard J. Purcell*

III. THE TRAGEDY OF POLAND .... — *John Murray*

IV. JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES: 1883-1946 .... — *George O'Brien*

V. MICHAEL DAVITT: SURVEY AND APPRECIATION — *T. W. Moody*

VI. IRISH BARDIC POEMS—No. 78 .... — *Lambert McKenna*

VII. JEREMIAH J. CALLANAN: HIS LIFE .... — *B. G. MacCarthy*

VIII. RECENT RESEARCH ON IRISH HAGIOGRAPHY — *Ludwig Bieler*

IX. BISHOP CHALLONER .... — *Denis Gwynn*

X. DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE .... — *Richard Hayes*

XI. WILLIAM HENRY TONE .... — *P. R. Butler*

XII. REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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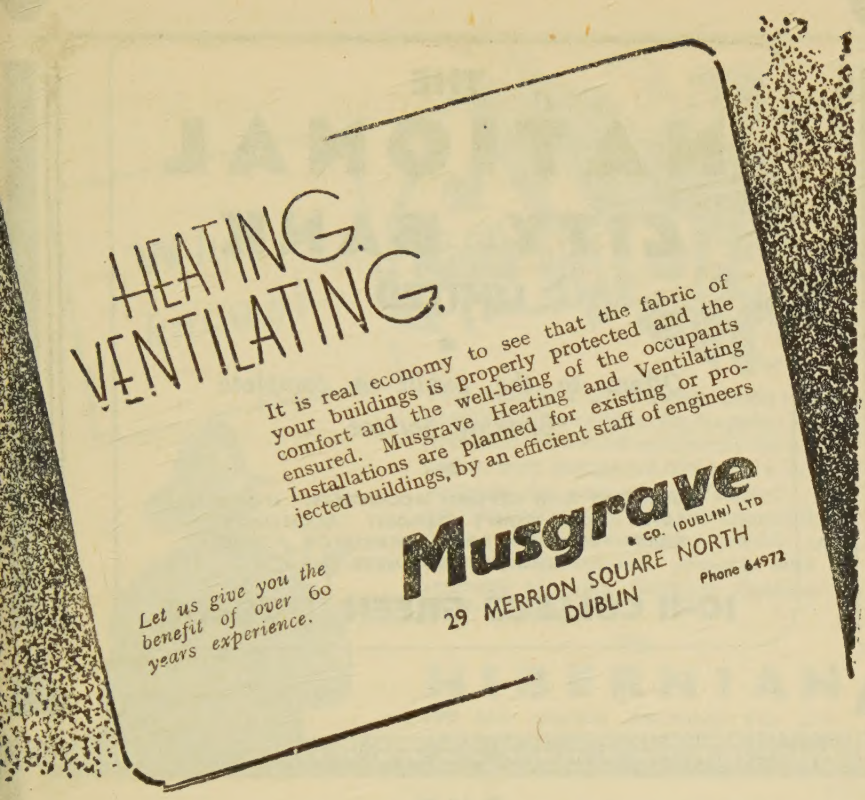
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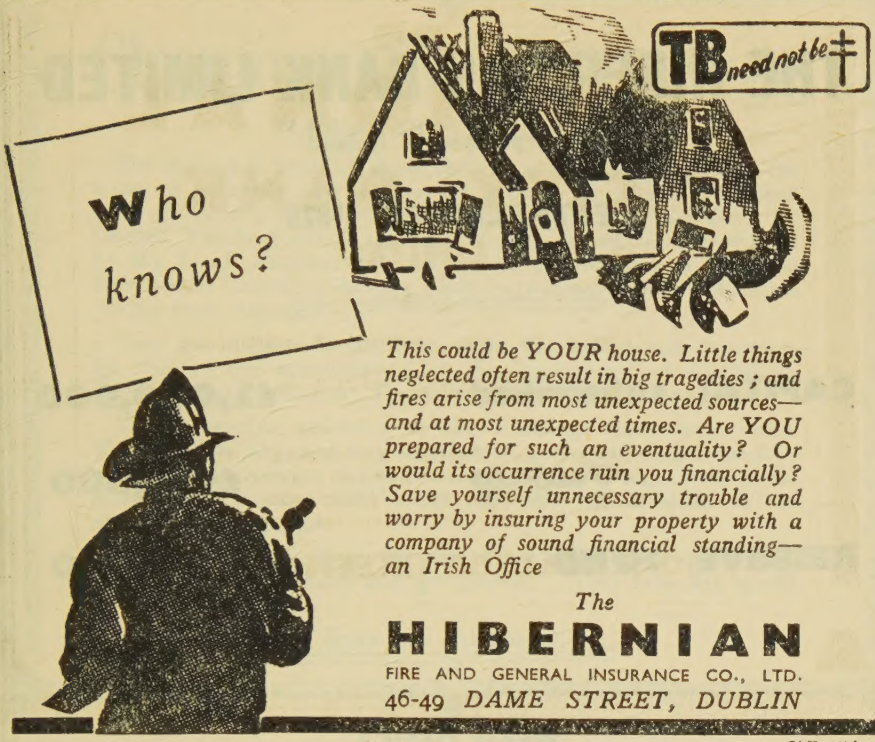

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1898—1946

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THEOBALD WOLFE TONE DILLON was born on the 3 October 1898. He was the second son of John Dillon, who had been chief organizer with Davitt of the movement that secured ownership of their land for the Irish farmers at the end of the last century. His grandfather, John Blake Dillon, of Ballaghadereen, Co. Mayo, in 1842 joined Davis and Gavan Duffy in founding the *Nation* newspaper. In 1848 he had to fly to America after taking part in Smith O'Brien's unsuccessful insurrection. On his mother's side Theo Dillon (to give him the name by which he was known to his friends) was descended from the Mathews of Thomastown, Co. Tipperary, his mother, Elizabeth Mathew, being a grand-niece of Father Theobald Mathew, the Irish temperance reformer.

On the 27 March 1946 Theo Dillon died unexpectedly, at the age of forty-seven, after an operation in a Dublin nursing-home. He had then been for several years Professor of Pharmacology and Therapeutics at University College, Dublin. The news of his death came as a shock to many. For in him his university colleagues had lost a rare combination of biologist, statistician, linguist, economist, historian, philosopher, and conversationalist; students and assistants had likewise lost an ideal superior, one who exacted a high standard of efficiency, but who was ever ready to fight their battles, taking an active interest in them both as a group and as individuals. Medical colleagues, the government health authorities, and the general public had lost in him the initiator of various important schemes of social improvement, the critic or moulder of others. His patients, from whom, characteristically, he rarely accepted a fee, had lost an unusually skilled and careful medical adviser, one who was ready to act as almoner, counsellor, and friend as well. To the poor, whom he visited as a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, he was above all a friendly and charitable Christian, and to his brothers in that Society he was a constant source of inspiration both by way of personal example and by his deep and often original interpretation of Ozanam's rule and spirit. But of all those to whom his death came as a shock none missed him like his relatives and friends. There are men who, brilliant in public, are dour and difficult at home. But that was not Dillon's way. Rather those who were most intimate with him had most reason to admire and love him; for they benefited in a particular manner not alone from his brilliant conversation and learning, but from his supreme kindness, his

fidelity, his sparkling humour, and above all from his piety, which, neither ostentatiously displayed nor yet shamefacedly hidden away, appeared at its best in the privacy of the home and in his intercourse with friends.

The very activity of Dillon's mind and his manysided brilliance led some who did not know him well to distrust his learning. Could one (they thought) who talked with equal ease on biology, psychotherapy, statistical equations, Keynes's finance, Bismarck, Boniface VIII, Pascal, Dupanloup, the Laws of Plato, Aristotelian hylomorphism, and Gladstonian politics, really be an expert in any of the fields he covered? Yet it was indeed true that, though he would never have claimed to speak with equal authority in every one of the fields indicated, in each he was widely read and able to stimulate, control, or, if need were, refute an expert. Moreover in his laboratory research on kidney function he undoubtedly advanced biological knowledge, though with true scientific humility he was always careful to insist that his own work in that line was of minor importance in comparison with that of some of his colleagues. Dillon's preeminence, however, lay in a more universal activity, an activity in which those particular activities found a richer unity, animated by his faith and coloured, as it were, by the general brilliance and geniality of his character: for essentially he was a Christian humanist, and the special function he fulfilled with obvious distinction was that of a learned professor imbued with the liberal Catholic spirit of a Newman or a Lacordaire.

It will not be out of place to speak here of the gradual maturing and perfecting of a character which, in a comparatively short period, has had an undoubted effect on several generations of students in University College, Dublin, and on many others, both within and without the College as well.

In 1908, after a period spent as day-pupil at Belvedere College, Dublin, Dillon (now aged ten) was sent as boarder to Mount Saint Benedict, Gorey, his mother having died during the previous year. At Gorey he received the more important part of his secondary education. There, in 1914-15, towards the end of his school career, one would have found him an outstanding figure. Already he was an omnivorous reader: the English novelists, Lingard's history, Wolfe Tone's autobiography, Grattan's speeches, Davis's essays, works by Belloc and the two Chestertons, the Canterbury Tales—all these, in addition to the ordinary books read in class, would be referred to familiarly by him; and some of us who had found the Canterbury Tales almost unintelligible and had spent a term getting through fifty pages of Lingard would wonder how it was done. In mathematics he stood alone. One boy, a little older than he, was reputed to know more Greek. Another, the late Ralph Brereton Barry, was adjudged the better actor of Shakespearian characters. One boy could rival him at chess. Only a few could talk somewhat as he about Parnell and Gladstone, or O'Connell, or Sadleir and Keogh. He swam like a

professional; and though he had not the same preeminence in other outdoor exercises, nevertheless he boxed, rode, played tennis and played football among the élite, and in his holidays at Ballaghaderreen went shooting over the bogs.

When Lugh of the Long Hand came to Tara he was refused entry. " No one without an art," said the doorkeeper, " enters Tara." " I am a wright," said Lugh. " We need thee not," said the doorkeeper; " we have a wright already, Luchta son of Luachaidh ". " I am a smith," replied Lugh. " We have a smith already," said the doorkeeper, " Colum Caoileineach of the three new processes." " I am a champion," said Lugh. " We need thee not," said the doorkeeper: " we have a champion already, Oghma son of Eithliu." As harpist, poet, historian, sorcerer, leech, cupbearer, and brazier, Lugh fared no better. But the doorkeeper had no answer when Lugh asked had they any one man within who possessed all those arts together.

It was with Dillon as with Lugh: in certain arts he had his rivals, but he alone was " the man of each and every art ".

Yet it could hardly be said that Dillon was popular with his schoolfellows. There was a certain arrogance about him which repelled. He was scornful of ignorance, loving publicly to discomfit an opponent by overwhelming citation of authorities; and though quick to recognize or even to exaggerate the worth of younger boys, his patronage was at times resented. A comparatively small number, accepting him for his brilliance, became aware of the fundamental goodwill that underlay an arrogant exterior.

In 1915 he underwent public examination for the first time, passing into University College, Dublin, with a College scholarship in classics and mathematics. Perhaps this characteristically unusual combination of subjects was the cause of the scholarship being second class rather than first: certainly his examination career henceforward was to result normally in first place among a first-class honours group. As a medical student he entered with enthusiasm into the life of University College, joining the Literary and Historical Society, the rugby club, the tennis club and the swimming club.

About this period the seeds of the great swing-over from parliamentarianism to direct action were being sown in the country, and in Dillon's first years in the university a changed outlook had already begun to show itself among the students. He himself, entrenched in appreciation of the integrity, wide reading, and still wider experience of a father who had given his whole life to the national cause and was now a chief bulwark of the parliamentary party, felt the passionate pull of the new movement less than his fellows. He therefore remained a parliamentarian, though with that sympathy for the hotter spirits which was traditional in his family. On the other hand it seemed to his father that the mistakes and

injustices of English government, which the placing of the Home Rule bill on the Statute Book had by no means ended, made it undesirable that his son should enter the British army. Theo Dillon, whose temperament inclined him to extremes, found himself therefore walking uncomfortably on a middle path. Some of his friends were in the British army. Some, such as the late Eimar O'Duffy, were in the Irish Volunteers. He himself, keenly interested both in the defeat of Germany and in the reversal of English policy in Ireland, found no such positive activity in which his beliefs might become manifest.

Dillon was therefore led more than ever, perhaps, to find an outlet for his energy in reading, acting, college debates, and various recreations, ranging from rugby football to billiards and bridge. The amount of serious and semi-serious reading he got through was unbelievable. Between the ages of seventeen and nineteen he had mastered orthodox political economy, not going to the popular expositions, as the non-professional student normally tends to do, but, as was his wont in everything, studying the basic works by Mill, Smith, and Ricardo, all of which were available to him in his father's magnificent library at 2 North Great George's Street. At the same time he read current periodicals, such books on politics or history as talks with his father or university friends brought to his notice, and three or four novels a week as well. How did he fit this in with the studies of a first-class honours medical student? Questioned on this point a few weeks before his death he had a ready explanation: finding that he profited little from what was said orally, but absorbed the written word with ease, he attended comparatively few of the prescribed lectures! Nevertheless he graduated in 1921 with first place and first class honours, and in 1922 he completed his student career in Dublin by winning a travelling studentship in pathology.

For some time before this his health had been impaired. Disquieting symptoms manifested themselves in his knee: bone-tuberculosis was suspected; and though after many years it was decided that the knee-trouble was non-tubercular, it sent him on a prolonged pilgrimage to continental sanatoria in search of a cure. For about a year he was at Berck-plage in the north of France. The next four years he spent in Switzerland, at Leysin, where he was first a patient and later assistant to Dr. Rollier the pioneer of heliotherapy. The year 1928-29 Dillon spent in Vienna, studying modern methods in medicine, including psychotherapy.

On the 11 February 1922, almost a year before setting out on his travels, Dillon, in a diary kept by him mainly in Irish, comments on a certain lack of purpose he had noticed in his life: *sa gcaoi go bhfuilim toilteanach an cúrsa is goire dhom a ghlacadh agus a leanamhaint gan leigint dom féin ceapadh amach cé an cuspóir atá romham.* A month later in the same diary he speaks of his illness as being perhaps providential in that it will give him time to discover the truth about his own activities and their

implications : *fírinne mo chúrsaí féin agus cé an chaoi a bhfuil siad fighte fuaighte isteach le cúrsaí an tsaoghail.* Six months later (September 22) in an English entry he says : " Personally I am where I was, except in so far as I have been moved by reading Cardinal Manning and Cardinal Newman's *Life* and *Apologia*. The latter is by far the better book, but the standard set is very high, approximating to the *Imitation*, and as I have said before somewhere I am not suited to high standards, except at intervals." Now, a purposeless indefinite Dillon, unsuited to high standards, is certainly not the Dillon who returned from the continent in 1929. Yet intimate friends might admit that, at least in comparison with that later Dillon, there was some small basis of truth in his self-accusation. Externally perhaps there was no great difference between his activities in the two periods. From his schooldays it had been his practice to attend daily Mass, and already when he made those entries in his diary he had been for some years an active member of a St. Vincent de Paul conference.

Nevertheless Dillon suspected that there was opposition between the principles on which his literary and scientific beliefs were founded and the principles of his religion. This suspicion worried him. Because of his faith he had no doubt as to which set of principles were the more fundamental. But he was aware that faith unsupported by reason is in a precarious position. Of the first three years of his continental adventure Dillon therefore made what may best be described as a prolonged spiritual retreat, in which by prayer and study he deepened his understanding of Catholicism. Church history, the lives and works of the great mystics, philosophical writings by Mercier, Gilson, Descoq, Garrigou-Lagrange, Blondel, Boutroux, and others formed an important part of his reading in those years, though he did not neglect those studies in mathematics, and in the theoretic background of science from Kant to Meyerson, which were later to be of importance to him in his university vocation.

Even before he had left Ireland Dillon was a good linguist, knowing Latin, Greek, Irish, French, and some German, in addition to English. Abroad he became a fluent, one might even say an eloquent, speaker of French and German, while he added Italian and Spanish to the list of languages he could read and, at necessity, use to express his thought. Most of these languages remained a living source of inspiration to him up to the day of his death, for he read the literature of French and German with as much interest as that of English, while Dante, Homer, Cicero, and Plato were the companions of spare moments. Irish was for him above all the language spoken by those native speakers whose culture he had learned to know and admire during vacations spent from 1919 to 1922 in Ballingeary, Tourmakeady, and Aran. He loved to listen to Irish ; but only one book in Irish could be called a favourite of his : it was Canon Peter O'Leary's autobiography, which he admired not alone as a store-

house of graceful idiomatic language, but also for the pleasing picture it gave of a priest with whose homely Catholicism and sane political outlook he was in full sympathy.

On the 3 June 1926, while assistant to Dr. Rollier at Leysin, Dillon had married Marie Benninger. In 1927 his father died. And in 1929 he returned to Ireland, bringing with him his wife and their baby daughter Marie Thérèse. They settled at Killiney some eight miles south of Dublin in a bungalow beautifully situated on the hillside, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. For some seventeen years, broken only by a return to Switzerland during the years 1935-1936 for further treatment for the recalcitrant knee, the family lived happily at Killiney, winning from their neighbours both rich and poor, Catholic and Protestant, that love and respect which was movingly expressed by Dr. Robert Collis in an appreciation published in the *Irish Times* for the 28 March 1946.

About the same time as he moved into his Killiney house Dillon found employment as a Rockefeller scholar in the medical research laboratories of his College. For the Rockefeller scholarship a College assistancy was later substituted ; and in 1932 he was promoted from his assistancy to a well-deserved professorial chair.

By 1928 Dillon's studies abroad had already borne fruit in a paper on *Tuberculosis of Bone and Joint*, published in the *Irish Journal of Medical Science* for April 1928. Efforts made by him about that period, however, to organize a drive against tuberculosis met with no success. Later a public-spirited group of which he was a leading member renewed these efforts, and, from 1942 on, important medical and statistical papers prepared by him in the furtherance of their ideas appeared in the *Irish Journal of Medical Science*, the *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, the *Journal of the Medical Association of Éire*, the *Irish Hospitals Yearbook*, and *Studies*. These writings, and a great deal of laborious committee work, were undoubtedly of immense importance in bringing about the changed attitude towards tuberculosis in Ireland manifested in recent Red Cross and Government planning.

The results of Dillon's laboratory researches on kidney function have appeared in a series of papers of interest both to biologists and clinical physicians—published, from 1932 on, in the *Irish Journal of Medical Science* and the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. His contributions to *Studies* began in 1937 with an article entitled " What is Man ? ", lying on the borderland of philosophy and biology. This article occasioned the formation of a study-circle in which the *Physics*, *De Anima*, and part of the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, with St. Thomas's commentaries, were read under expert guidance over a period of years, giving a steadier anchorage to Dillon's philosophical thought—which hitherto, though firmly anti-materialist, had wavered, with a certain amount of eclecticism, between the doctrines of several schools. Articles by him on various

current topics of medical and social interest published in later numbers of *Studies* were easier to understand, a series of three on *Public Health Planning, Slum Clearance,* and *The Social Services in Éire,* being especially appreciated by a wide public (Dec. 1944, March 1945, Sept. 1945).

Dillon's laboratory organization, his stimulating teaching, and the human interest he took in the welfare of his students soon won him an outstanding position in the medical faculty of his College. But his worth was appreciated both by students and staff in other faculties as well, for he was always ready to take an active part in the general intellectual life of the College, speaking when occasion required it on literary, philosophical, historical, or social questions in student and graduate societies, and influencing the thought of his colleagues by conversation in the staff room or fearless statement of opinion at College committees and councils. The arrogance which in his early days had prevented him from being generally loved had long ago been replaced interiorly by a fundamental humility. Externally it survived as a pleasing mannerism, a certain over-assurance in argument (which added charm to his conversation) and a certain peremptoriness of speech and action which students would affectionately mimic. Dillon was the prime-mover in several important College decisions made during the years of his professorship, and had he lived he would doubtless, with increasing prestige, have become even more influential. Both within and outside the College he was active in a number of beneficent movements, constantly sitting on committees and drawing up reports to promote causes such as the assistance of German and Austrian refugees, the better housing of the poor, or the combating of tuberculosis.

These years of family life at Killiney, scientific research, committee administration, and intercourse with students and friends were among the happiest years of Dillon's life, though they were occasionally darkened by difficulties such as are the common lot of humanity, or by opposition from those who were out of sympathy with his eager liberal Catholicism or who failed to follow the movement of his swift clear-seeing intellect.

Reference has already been made in this article to Dillon's membership of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. The Society is a jealous guardian of its tradition of anonymity, and Dillon spoke but rarely of his weekly visits to the poor, his attendance at the meetings of the council of Dublin, and his journeys as visitor to country conferences. We have already described Dillon as a Christian humanist and brilliant university professor imbued with the liberal Catholic spirit of a Newman or a Lacordaire. A hundred years ago in France another such was to be found : he was Frédéric Ozanam, co-founder with Bailly of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. In an article on the history of that Society in Ireland, published in *Studies* (December 1945) a few months before his death, Dillon gives a remarkable sketch of this young nineteenth-century Professor of Foreign

Languages at the Sorbonne. In it Ozanam is portrayed politically as a Christian democrat. His spirit is described as one of " eager freedom and faith in the ordinary man ". He is said to have believed in " the value of Catholic tradition for the free development of the human intellect in all spheres " and in " the possibility and desirability of meeting the attacks of modern utilitarian and materialistic heresies with argument rather than simple suppression ". He is pictured above all as the founder of a Society where (in Ozanam's own words) " there shall be but one thing to learn, a thing that is intelligible, acceptable, conciliating all ; an admirable simple thing, which is none-the-less infinite and eternal as the God from whom it comes ; I mean Charity ". That description of Ozanam, applied to Dillon himself, would lose none of its truth. And even in the external circumstances of their lives there was much similarity ; for Ozanam, too, died young, aged only forty, after much illness patiently endured.

Recently a poor woman in need of charitable help spoke of one of her former Saint Vincent de Paul visitors. " It was Mr. Dillon," she said, " and Oh ! he was a lovely gentleman. He paid for Mary in a technical school, and then he got a place for her in the laundry. He would come in so friendly and knew us all. We could all speak to him ; he was better than a father : I don't know where we are without him." *C'était une personnalité tellement rayonnante* wrote the wife of a former medical colleague at Leysin. Beside his body in the nursing-home a civic guard was kneeling : Dillon had made arrangements for his receiving the best treatment when he was suffering from tuberculosis. Near the guard was a young doctor beginning his career : " No student," he said, " ever owed to his professor what I owe to Dr. Dillon." " We shall never look upon his like again," said one of his university colleagues—and what he said was true.

GERARD MURPHY

JOHN A. RYAN

PROPHET OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

BY PROFESSOR RICHARD J. PURCELL, M.A., PH.D., LL.B.

A PERSONAL campaign of 50 years for social justice and economic opportunity for the common man ended when John A. Ryan died in St. Paul, Minnesota, September 16, 1945. President Truman noticed his death in the following appreciation :—

> We shall all miss the wise counsel which he gave so generously out of his long and varied experience. All of his writings and speeches as an economist and sociologist were enlightened by sound common sense and a high appreciation of moral and ethical values. This was particularly true when he dealt with the problem of labor and the moral implications of a living wage. He always presented the full picture.[1]

Discerning was the inspired editorial in the influential *Washington Post* :—

> It was not so long ago that . . . John Augustine Ryan . . . caused almost as many apprehensive shudders in certain privileged places as the names of Lenin and Trotsky. His clerical status was considered, even by many of his co-religionists, as the disguise of a fanatical and dangerous revolutionist. . . . The great mystery was why the ecclesiastical authorities tolerated this radical cleric who was so constantly and tirelessly stirring up trouble among the workers by telling them they had been defrauded of their rights, who openly served on strike committees, and who openly approved the child labor amendment in plain defiance of the statement by this bishop or that theologian that such legislation would undermine the sanctity of the home.[2]

On positing this exaggerated observation, the editorial writer observed that Ryan was " a moral theologian of much repute and thoroughly orthodox ". Furthermore, he continued

> There was no real disagreement between himself and other ecclesiastics as to the moral principles involved in the conflict of capital and labor. The right of the workers to a larger share of the general wealth and in the ownership of the tools of production, and to organize themselves for the attainment of these rights, had been set forth by Pope Leo XIII in . . . *Rerum Novarum*. Dr. Ryan's answer was that industry itself must be reorganized on democratic principles and that an end must be made of the system of ' industrial feudalism '. Most of the reforms demanded by Dr. Ryan . . . and most of the causes he had championed have been won. And while many shared in the battle . . . there is no doubt that his zeal, his special position, and his increasing influence on the thought of the leaders of his own church were the means overcoming many an obstacle. . . . he was one of the most effective champions of labor ever to arise in the United States.

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[1] All the notes will be found at the end of article.

Msgr. Ryan merited this eulogy. No mere proponent of philosophical principles, natural rights, and industrial and political equality, he would implement economic reforms and organized labor's objectives within the framework of law and the papal encyclicals which he regarded as directives. He would give leadership by action rather than by mere preaching. No priest aroused such sharp criticism as he insistently integrated moral theology into current politico-economic problems which demanded solution. Not all criticism was open and impersonal; not all attacks in some Catholic papers were charitable or confined to prose. Nor was Father Ryan a sensitive soul easily borne down by insidious or frontal attacks. Of late years, no priest was more acclaimed by his fellow churchmen, especially the younger and the native-born priesthood, as his views were vindicated by Rome and American progressivism. Certainly no priest has died in wider fame in liberal and Democratic circles. Indeed a secular paper maintained: "When he reached the apex of his usefulness he certainly was unequalled in his field. Neither in America nor in any foreign country was there any priest who excelled him as a sociologist".[3]

The liberality and initiative of Father Ryan were logical products of his background, breeding, and education. His parents were born in County Tipperary of families who emigrated in the post-famine decade to Great Barrington and Holyoke, Massachusetts, where they earned enough at labor to transport themselves 1,800 miles westward to Minneapolis at Father Hennepin's Falls of St. Anthony. In its small Irish colony, William Ryan and Mary Luby met and married. For a few dollars an acre, less than a year's lease in Ireland, they bought a farm in Vermillion Township, in Dakota County, 20 miles south of St. Paul. This land and a second farm, purchased later, carried for nearly 30 years a threatening mortgage at interest rates of 12 down to 6 per cent. On May 25, 1869, John Augustine Ryan was free-born on the parental 160 acres shadowed only by family traditions of evictions by a crowbar gang and of the famine suffering, which remained real to immigrants to their dying days in the States—even in Minnesota, then advertized as a land of milk and honey.

Dakota County was blessed with temperatures from 30 F. below zero to 90 F above zero, harassed by an occasional blizzard in the winter and a tornado in the summer, and plagued at times by crop-devouring grasshoppers. Indian dangers were past. Available timber provided log cabins or frame shanties, often snow-bound in winter. As the county was fairly settled with Yankees, French half-breeds, German and Irish immigrants, and some Scandinavians, there was no longer the loneliness of an isolated hinterland. There was no racial segregation, voluntary or compulsory, in a region where hardihood, laboriousness, and thrift were the chief external virtues. Naturally there were some racial arrogances and pretensions in this intermingling of peoples, so that native migrants

from the East looked down upon the immigrants and the Irish complacently looked down upon the German foreigners. A healthy region, it bred strong, long-lived men and women; and its rolling land was fertile for grain or grazing, but far short of the Golden Vale in Irish eyes.

John Ryan's early education in the public district school was supplemented by religious training and through reading the family book-shelf of a half dozen volumes, including Father Tom Burke's *Lectures and Sermons* and an heroic survey of Irish history. Ever afterward, he remained undiscriminating in his historical attitudes. Well did he peruse *The Irish World and the American Industrial Liberator* with its definite views on Irish questions, New York politics, industrial problems, the wrongs imposed upon workingmen, and the advantages of trade unionism. The more conservative Irish turned the pages of the *Boston Pilot* in their awareness that *The Irish World* was out of step with the more cautious press and with pastors who preached economic contentment, uncritical loyalty to the existing order, the danger of secret societies, Fenianism, and Land Leagues, and resigned acceptance of social inferiority. This was understandable. Immigrants were materially improved and secure in America where the second generation might actually prosper. Churchmen feared, and not without cause, that their people would lose the faith in a land of secularized schools, declining Christianity, and a smug toleration predicated upon indifference. Hence they actually promoted self-segregation, German and Irish.

The mind of John Ryan was stirred by a cursory reading of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*. His social interests were further aroused by local agrarian societies, with their granges and demagogues, and by Democratic campaigners. Like the overwhelming majority of Irish Americans, the Ryans were Democrats by intuition. They did favor James G. Blaine, Republican, for president. After all he was born a Catholic and retained a sound anti-English attitude, if not the old faith.

Of early liberals, there was Neighbor Ignatius Donnelly, the "Sage of Nininger," a truly remarkable man. He came out of the East and established himself as a politician, a littérateur with his 1,000-page *Great Cryptogram* (1888), which Shakespearean scholars never took seriously, a seer in his *Atlantis* (1883) and *Ragnarok* (1883), a forceful promoter of labor and agrarian parties, and an enchanter of audiences. After hearing many outstanding orators, Donnelly remained one of Ryan's first choices. His political writing, especially the preamble to the Populist Platform of 1892, had a lasting influence on Ryan's economic thought. That platform seemed radical; but every plank, with modification, has become good law. Thus times and issues change, as Ryan's own career has well illustrated.

The farm boy continued his schooling under the Christian Brothers of St. Paul and the diocesan priests of St. Thomas Seminary (later College)

at the expense of his grandfather. He came under the direction of President Thomas O'Gorman who was on the threshold of a distinguished career as a professor of ecclesiastical history and a bishop.[4] He came within the notice of dynamic John Ireland, late Civil War chaplain, temperance crusader, " consecrated blizzard," defender of the Knights of Labor, a humanitarian and a Republican, a pronounced advocate of political and social Americanism, a friend of " the pillars of the contemporary economic order," a proponent of the Faribault school plan under which the State would support and regulate civil studies and the Church would provide religious education, and a democratic aristocrat who never forgot that his own father was a carpenter. Ireland preached no segregation ; he fought Cahenslyism ; and he knew converts could not be made in convents. A national figure in politics, he sought to prevent the War with Spain and to reconcile the Church with the Third French Republic. He was subjected to sharp attack : as a liberal bishop tainted with Americanism ; a friend of Edward McGlynn,[5] whose connections with Henry George and his imprudent recalcitrancy caused his temporary excommunication ; and a participant, along with Cardinal Gibbons, in the World Parliament of Religion in Chicago during the World's Fair.

Archbishop Ireland never became a cardinal. To Cardinal Gibbons, writing to Leo XIII, " men like the Archbishop of St. Paul are a living challenge to these accusations "—that is, charges that within the Catholic Church " there can be neither liberty, nor broadness, nor force of mind ".[6] Here was an influence which inspired young Ryan toward his vocation. Ryan knew little of McGlynn, but that worthy's rehabilitation consoled liberals and brought canon law to the States. As a youthful rebel Ryan voted for General James Weaver for the presidency when most Catholic moulders of opinion considered that man and the agrarian Populist Party as dangerously insurgent. He accepted William J. Bryan, " the Commoner," proponent of soft money, and opponent of colonial imperialism, but he rejected the next Democratic candidate as a reactionary New York lawyer. Ryan was already thinking for himself.

About this time Ryan was reading the earlier works of John Lancaster Spalding, bishop of Peoria,[7] Canon William Barry's *The New Antigone*[8] and W. S. Lilly's study *On Right and Wrong*. In the vacation of 1894, he read his first text in economics : an English version of the *Principles of Political Economy* (1891) by Matteo Liberatori, S.J. Social studies as such, even the history of the United States, were sorely neglected in seminaries, whose curriculum was European in happy oblivion that the trainees would serve in the small towns and urban centers whose inhabitants were preponderantly Protestant. Two years later, the seminarians were introduced to *Rerum Novarum* whose liberalism astounded some prelates. Yet despite a largely foreign faculty, the seminary was not unduly conservative.

Archbishop Ireland ordained Ryan, June 4, 1898, at the St. Paul Seminary, which was erected by James J. Hill, the " Empire Builder " and president of the Great Northern Railroad. Father Ryan was assigned a curacy in a rural parish for the summer months and then ordered to the Catholic University of America for advanced studies in theology and canon law.[9] Going east was a great venture for Father Ryan. At the Catholic University, he majored in moral theology under his ordinary's protégé, Thomas J. Bouquillon, whom he has generously described as the " most erudite man that I have ever known ".[10] Rather progressive and not without violent critics, Father Bouquillon stressed precision of speech and thorough thinking in his conscientiously prepared lectures and evidenced a deep interest in social and educational problems.[11] Ryan followed courses in canon law, which fortified his understanding of theology and endowed him with a feeling for the common law—which, unfortunately for his destined work, he never studied formally.

Ryan was permitted to follow secular courses under three outstanding men : Charles P. Neill, a trained economist from Johns Hopkins University and later first United States Commissioner of Labor ; Maurice Francis Egan, littérateur and essayist, and later minister to Denmark ; and William J. Kerby, a cultured priest trained in the social sciences at Berlin, Bonn, and Louvain, whose dissertation *Le Socialisme aux États-Unis* (1897) aroused some doubts as to his conservatism. By necessity, Ryan's readings in economics and sociology were essentially non-Catholic. However, he read widely at the Library of Congress and attended Congressional debates and hearings. He wrote his first article on Henry D. Lloyd's *A Country Without Strikes*, which converted him, for the moment, to compulsory arbitration as practised in New Zealand.[12]

Ryan struck the keynote of his life-long labors—the integration of the principles of scholastic philosophy and moral theology into an interpretation of current social and economic problems. Good ethics, he early learned, was good political economy. This he demonstrated in an essay for the Licentiate in Theology on the " Moral Aspects of Speculation on the Exchanges "—in which, as Ryan looked backward, he found some precursive ideas for the Securities and Exchange Act (1934).[13] This was followed by a doctoral dissertation on " A Living Wage : Its Ethical and Economic Aspects " which stemmed from his study of *Rerum Novarum*—the great encyclical which he, more than anyone else, was to publicize if not popularize in the Church and in the nation. This subject forced him to read afield on labor, wages, prices, living costs, and poverty. Not until 1906 was the manuscript finished and the doctorate awarded after an oral examination in which the candidate was cross-examined by Richard T. Burtsell of New York.[14]

" The Living Wage " was read by Richard T. Ely, an author of authoritative volumes and a forward-faced professor in the University of

Wisconsin where the social sciences were already taught progressively.[15] Ely advised publication ; got Macmillan to print the book on the author's payment for the manufacture of the plates ; and wrote a preface " which aided mightily in gaining recognition for it " [16] not only in academic cloisters but in hesitant Catholic circles (1906). Within four years, the *Living Wage* was translated into the Spanish and French tongues. Outside of New Zealand and New South Wales, the principle of a minimum wage, even at $600 a year, was revolutionary ; and in the United States it was socialistic. Here was " the first judgment from ecclesiastical circles upon the philosophies at once of Karl Marx and the opposite extremists of laissez faire economics ".[17]

There was something significant in any economist studying labor relations ; and as for a priest, it was hardly respectable.[18] This idea was stressed by Matthew Woll, a labor statesman and the Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor in introducing Msgr. Ryan as the last speaker before the Federation's Post-War Forum :—

> At the turn of the century there were few economists who were interested in applying their technical knowledge to help workers share justly in the return of their labor. . . . At about this time one man, a devout, religious leader and a great scholar, began his crusade to impress on his fellow citizens that we all have a moral responsibility to use our knowledge for the enrichment of all mankind. . . . In the face of opposition, in spite of many obstacles, Msgr. John A. Ryan worked on for us and with us. As we won our battles, he rejoiced with us.[19]

Appointed to the St. Paul Seminary, Doctor Ryan taught moral theology. Furthermore, he applied its living principles to the moral problems of men in living the contemporary life. In this he was fully supported by Ireland, who was sufficiently liberal to feel confidence in the motives and integrity of most industrial captains. Ryan got into no trouble, as some clergymen had pleasantly anticipated. This immunity, he explained in this fashion : " I have known more than one writer whose opinions were no more advanced than mine, but who gave offense by their lack of restraint in presentation." Or again, he has quoted Canon Peter Fleming of Rome—with whom he discussed the subject for some reason—as follows : " So long as your teaching avoids the stigma or implication of socialism, you have nothing to fear. There is much more freedom of teaching in the Catholic Church than most persons outside the Church, and many persons within it, assume." [20]

Some years later, a friendly minister in the Federal Council of Churches remarked to Father Ryan : " You have a very great advantage over men in my position. We have to guard against offending the members of many different denominations, while you can hang your ' radical ' utterances on a Papal encyclical." [21] In the last analysis, as Father Ryan explained to a distinguished gathering of economists and political scientists, he merely followed the dictum of Leo XIII, that " the social question is first of all a moral and religious matter, and for that reason its settlement

is to be sought mainly in the moral law and the pronouncements of religion." On this basis, he explained : " This is a clear challenge to and condemnation of all those selfishly interested persons and all those sincerely ignorant persons who say or think that the Church ought to keep to spiritual matters and not meddle with business or industrial matters." [22]

In harmony with his studies, Father Ryan wrote an essay on " The Small Family and National Decadence," [23] which was followed by scores of speeches and brief articles touching upon birth control, as the decades rolled along and as the subject became of primary interest with late and mixed marriages and a decline in the number of children on the part of the older racial stocks with improvement in their economic position. Aware that a declining birth rate might be rectified by a family wage and a revival of genuine religion, he observed : " While the birth rate among Catholics seems to be somewhat higher than that of non-Catholics, the degree of excess does not justify an attitude of complacency." [24]

There followed studies whose results were incorporated in " The Fallacy of Bettering One's Position " beyond the need of a reasonable standard of living and the " Cost of Christian Living " in which he concluded that housing, food, clothing, amusements, recreation, and education ought to be found within the $2,000 to $5,000 brackets.[25] A few years later, Ryan's *Distributive Justice* (1916) raised these estimates to $10,000 and $20,000 on the basis of rising standards and costs and a more comprehensive understanding on his own part.[26] Social justice, a term Archbishop Ireland used in a Labor Day address in 1903, would profit by the voluntary distribution of their surplus gains by this favored economic caste.

Like his ordinary, Ryan did not seek cloistered segregation in fear of association with fellow citizens of various religious beliefs and of diverse political shades. He had no hesitancy in reading a piece on " The Standard of Living and Problem of Dependency " before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Minneapolis (1907). Three years later, he seconded Doctor Kerby's foundation of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, in whose annual conventions and publications he displayed a continuing interest.[27] About this time Ryan advanced, through the various offices, to the presidency of the Minnesota Conference of Charities and Corrections (1910). His recognition came first from secular scholars and non-Catholic groups. He did not hesitate to join the Saturday Lunch Club of Minneapolis, of which one of the founders was Professor Willis Mason West of the University of Minnesota who was an advanced political liberal.[28] From its social sessions, Father Ryan received mental stimulation and broadened his acquaintance among Protestants—some of whom were regarded by his Catholic associates as " a radical bunch ".[29]

The failure of Catholics to lead or to support reform movements was always regretted by Father Ryan. He rarely found their leaders intention-

ally, or at least intelligently, anti-Catholic. Though he often listened to advanced doctrines, which he opposed, he did not hear attacks on Catholicism. Possibly his presence was an insurance against any such discourtesy ; for, sometimes, he was so unique as to be an honored exhibit. At any rate, Ryan was careful to resign from a directive position in any organization which espoused unmoral doctrines.

While at St. Paul Seminary, Doctor Ryan drafted a minimum wage bill which a progressive friend introduced in the Minnesota legislature only to witness its death in committee (1911). Shortly afterward, Massachusetts passed a minimum wage act which was directive but not obligatory, and eight states adopted mandatory acts. An impetus was given to this movement when Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party featured a minimum wage plank in its platform. As a persistent agitator, Ryan spoke at public gatherings, before legislative committees, and to the legislatures of Wisconsin and Pennsylvania on minimum wage legislation. In 1913, his rewritten bill was introduced into both houses of the legislature of Minnesota. It was passed and became law.

This statute, like other minimum wage enactments of that era, applied only to women and minors. There was provided a Minimum Wage Commission without a labor leader. There were two separate advisory boards for mercantile and for office workers. As chairman of the mercantile workers in factories, laundries, restaurants, and hotels, Ryan recommended a minimum wage of $9 per week. Five years later, as chairman of a District of Columbia advisory board, he recommended rates of $15 to $16 per week.

The first minimum wage order was enjoined by a district judge of Ramsey County as a violation of freedom of contract and of due process of law as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. Thereupon conservative Thomas D. O'Brien, later a judge of the Supreme Court of Minnesota,[30] asked Ryan what he thought of himself as a lawgiver. The State Supreme Court upheld the law, and all progressives felt encouraged. In 1914, Henry Ford established a voluntary $5 minimum wage for all employees of the Ford Motor Company. This seemed socialistic or paternalistic thirty years ago. Now labor leaders think in terms of a family wage, a guaranteed annual wage, vacation allowances, the elimination of wage differentials based on geography or sex, a shorter week, incentive pay for second and third shifts, separation pay, and unemployment compensation. And most of these demands Ryan supported, and some of them he promoted to their inclusion in statutory law.

With the opening of World War I, Ryan's sympathies were with the Allies, as were those of Archbishop Ireland, while the great majority of his fellow-Catholics, Irish or German, were decidedly anti-English or pro-German or militantly neutral. He did regret the entrance of the

United States into the war, even as he and his co-religionists of several national origins supported the decision of President Wilson and Congress. He grieved at the violation of civil rights during the war[31] and at Wilson's casting aside the papal peace proposals with plausible explanations. He was one of the earliest advocates of a league of nations to maintain world peace, as he made clear in a slightly publicized speech in Louisville, Kentucky, December 1918.[32]

In the meantime, Doctor Kerby arranged a call to the Catholic University for Father Ryan. Archbishop Ireland, who had lost some of his pristine zeal for the University and also three distinguished priests to its faculty,[33] was obdurate until the call was supported by Archbishop James J. Keane of Dubuque (rector of St. Thomas College during Ryan's student years) and Cardinal Gibbons. Ireland was anxious to assign Ryan to study Catholic leakage, which was later done by Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., now bishop of Seattle, for his doctorate in Sacred Theology at the Catholic University.[34]

Finally, Dr. Ryan was granted episcopal permission to join the Catholic University. As professor and sometime dean of the School of Theology (1915-1937) he taught moral theology saturated with the morality of family life, economic, communal, and national problems. In addition, he lectured on industrial ethics in the graduate division, where he came into contact with a small number of lay students. In 1937, he was translated to the newly organized School of Social Sciences, which was founded at the request of the Holy Father and presided over by Dr. Ryan's former student, Msgr. Francis J. Haas, now bishop of Grand Rapids, Michigan. For many years, even unto his death, Doctor Ryan lectured on political science at nearby Trinity College and at the National Catholic School of Social Service for women.

While few students wrote dissertations in sociology or economics directly under Ryan, his influence as friendly counsellor was observable in all studies which treated organized labor, industrial relations, and ethical problems. Through his clerical students who taught in colleges and seminaries and through industrial conferences conducted in various dioceses with the cooperation of labor and management, his message went abroad. One disciple insists that Msgr. Ryan " was Catholic University's most distinguished son and Catholic University's most distinguished professor " on the plea that " he was one of the few really great men of our time " and that " no other priest in American history influenced American life so much as he ".[35] Another admiring student has testified : " In my observation it was through Father Ryan, more than through any other individual, that the Catholic University during its first 50 years came to be known and recognized, here and abroad, as an institution of courageous scholarship and of service to humanity."[36]

Father Ryan may not have been a formally trained economist or

sociologist according to the yardstick of secular universities; but in the Catholic field, he was almost alone in ability and in courage. And to teach effectively the controversial social studies requires both characteristics tempered by prudence. He was a competent publicist. He was a tower of strength to Catholic trade unionists whose pastors were suspicious of their " socialistic " leanings. After all, Ryan was a step or two ahead of many laborites. He could remember when labor leaders were being forced out of the Church by well-intentioned reactionaries. Indeed he knew some of them, like President Terrence Powderly of the Knights of Labor.[37] He gave protective support to Catholic students in secular universities and to lay professors of social studies who would be sure of their orthodoxy and assured of their jobs. He enabled them to dwell unafraid and even articulate in what President Roosevelt called " the age of social consciousness ".[38]

Father Ryan dared write for liberal secular publications. Thus he offered an example for Catholics of sensitive inhibitions. Indeed his *Christian Doctrine of Poverty* (1923) consisted of " addresses at a Unitarian theological school ".[39] For a Catholic publication he could write personal views on controversial issues for he knew his philosophy. Thus he gave strength to editors who were aware that he could publish at will and uncensored in secular publications. It was time that religion ceased to pride itself on being the moral policeman of capitalism and a force to hold immigrant peoples in line.

Oft told were unauthenticated stories that wealthy Catholics would contribute if " Socialistic Ryan " was removed from the faculty but that Bishop Shahan refused to sacrifice freedom of writing. Certainly neither Archbishop Ireland nor his successor, Austin Dowling,[40] would have been necessary partners to any such elimination. After all, Father Ryan was neither a rebel nor a revolutionist; but in the words of Bishop Haas: " Pioneer, he was, in the sense that he dared to have opinions on subjects from which, all too frequently, the less courageous shrunk back from having them." [41]

About 1914, Father Ryan contemplated a weekly journal to stress social doctrine. As New York would be the most convenient location, he consulted Archbishop John M. Farley, who reacted as Ryan has thus noted: " His reply and attitude were unfavorable. This is not surprising, for I was still regarded as ' too radical ' by many Bishops as well as others; moreover very few members of the hierarchy at that time were sufficiently interested in the social question to appreciate the need or the utility of such a publication." [42] Three years later he founded the *Catholic Charities Review*, which he edited for a few years and then assigned to Father John O'Grady, for whom he continued to write briefs on industrial questions, poverty, and the wages of exploitation.

In addition to his academic duties, Father Ryan became director of

the Department of Social Action in the National Catholic Welfare Council (Conference, after 1923) in Washington, which represents the hierarchy. This office he administered, since 1920, with an able staff headed by Father Raymond A. McGowan. Of the assistance rendered by this disciple (and now his successor) Father Ryan has testified : " I recognize that he has done by far the greater share of the work, both in planning and execution, and originated the majority of the decisions. I cannot recall any important instance where his judgment was mistaken." [43] Such competent research assistance explains in no small part Ryan's overwhelming production of articles, pronouncements, speeches, testimony before Congressional committees, and books.[44]

Generally credited was Father Ryan with the draft of the " Bishop's Program of Social Reconstruction " (1919) which attracted more favorable attention than any other secular or denominational plan of reconstruction, and possibly because its liberalism was so unexpected. Among some of its " radical " planks were the following : minimum wage legislation ; insurance against unemployment, sickness, invalidity, and old age ; abolition of child labor under 16 years of age ; legal enforcement of the right of labor to organize ; the continuation of the War Labor Board for conciliation and voluntary arbitration in labor disputes ; a national employment service ; housing for the poor and, actually, slum clearance ; the establishment of cooperative stores ; promotion of collaborate efforts on the part of labor and management ; and an effective control of monopolies. This program according to the chairman of the committee, Peter Muldoon, met little or no episcopal opposition, as it was " based upon the immutable principles of justice and charity which the Church holds, has ever held, and will ever hold ".[45] Much has been done along this line and much remains to be done—in itself an indication of the forwardness of the document.

In the reactionary normalcy of the twenties, Father Ryan's directive membership in the National Popular Government League and in the Public Ownership League of America was sufficient to win the label of socialist in conservative quarters. After several years of silence, he answered this criticism in a letter printed in *Public Ownership* and avowed his continued belief in the public ownership of public utilities, which were as yet subject to little regulation. [46] As always, in print or on the rostrum, he could take care of himself, especially if attacks came from without rather than from within the fold.

When the five socialists were expelled from the New York legislature in 1920, Ryan defended them in print and wrote a note of commendation to their advocate, Morris Hillquit, with whom he had once debated the socialist issue [47]—on the anti-socialist side, as a cynical Irish priest observed. For this action, Ryan was praised and condemned, even as was Governor Al Smith when he vetoed a bill outlawing the Socialist

Party as subversive to the State's welfare. Ryan favored anti-injunction legislation, which did come when the Norris-La Guardia Act limited injunctions in labor disputes. He opposed the open-shop program of industrialists as spear-headed by the National Association of Manufacturers, which has also become more reasonable.

As a defender of civil rights and liberties, Father Ryan was active in efforts of the Joint Amnesty Commission of the American Civil Liberties Union to obtain the release of political prisoners, pacificists, and red International Workers of the World convicted under the conscription and espionage acts of 1917-1918.[48] To Ryan, who led a crusade of the children of war prisoners to the White House, President Harding wrote: " The decisions have been delayed because I thought it undesirable to pardon men with IWW tendencies in a time when the nation was greatly threatened by the existing industrial strikes." [49] After his accession, Calvin Coolidge waited some months and then, following his luck, released the last war prisoners by Christmas of 1923. This Civil Liberties Union, on whose national committee Father Ryan sat, made mistakes; but, on the whole, he felt that it was unwavering in its endeavors to protect the constitutional rights of the poor and the weak and equally consistent in its championship of social justice. Ryan resigned, however, in 1935—not, he has explained, " because I had come to disapprove of its main objectives or to be fearful about associating with some misguided but honest radicals, not even because my membership might be productive of ' pharisaical scandal,' but simply and solely because the organization had gone into the field of academic freedom ". This area, he explained, " might safely be left to the Committee of University Professors which had been set up to deal with the latter subject ".[50]

Prohibition, under the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, Ryan insisted had the same validity as any law regardless of its interference with personal rights. To him it was morally binding and a matter of confession for the bootlegger of illicit liquor and for continuous buyers of his beverage, though not for the occasional purchaser. With this view his fellow moralists were not agreed; and Doctor Ryan modified his views as prohibition became unenforceable and contributed to the crime wave and moral let-down among young people. For the repeal of the amendment he lent his support, quite consistently, for he never favored this Puritan legislation as a national policy nor agreed with its characterization by President Hoover as a " noble experiment ".[51]

The collapse of minimum wage legislation aroused a fighting Ryan. A majority of the Supreme Court of the United States, including its two Catholic justices, declared unconstitutional the minimum wage law of the District of Columbia [52] on narrowly legalistic grounds, with no thought of the broader social implications and the natural right of man to live in the full sense of the term. This decision resulted in decisions setting

aside Arizona and New York laws. Under criticism of a prominent lawyer, Doctor Ryan advised him that " his prolonged study of the ' due process ' clause and the decisions relating to it had rendered me better equipped to discuss the New York decision than the overwhelming majority of lawyers ". In this he was probably right. Certainly most Catholic lawyers were trained in a conservative tradition. At any rate, a liberal Supreme Court in due time reversed itself and legitimatized minimum wage legislation.[53]

As two Federal acts to abolish child labor (1916, 1919) had fallen before Supreme Court decisions [54] and as the majority of States refused to pass child labor laws or to enforce their child labor regulations, reformers obtained the passage through Congress of a projected Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution (1924). To become effective this proposal must have the approval of three-fourths of the States, which it has not as yet obtained. Probably this sanction will not be acquired unless or until a sharp depression, with widespread adult unemployment, comes upon us.[55] Father Ryan supported the amendment in writing and in speech, whereas, aside from noteworthy exceptions, Catholic leaders and the Catholic press were opposed. Efforts were made to stop Ryan, but Rector Shahan and Chancellor Curley of the Catholic University were not influenced by this pressure. At a Catholic convention, Ryan argued for this amendment in the morning and Archbishop Curley condemned it in the afternoon with this aside : " If Doctor Ryan does not agree with me, he is at perfect liberty to disagree . . . I am not opposed to the Child Labor Amendment because it is Socialistic. Many who stand for the measure are not Socialists. President Coolidge is certainly no Socialist, nor is Doctor Ryan ; nor is Senator Walsh of Montana." [56] Catholic opposition featured this amendment as a possible Federal infringement on the freedom of the family, governance of children, and education, especially as a child was defined as a person up to 18 years of age.[57] Such fears were not unwarranted in the American system where States' Rights offer historic guarantees of local liberty.

From its initiation Doctor Ryan took an active interest in the Catholic Association for International Peace, whose best known brochure is his *International Ethics*. He served on the National Council for the Prevention of War, but finally resigned because of the executive board's decision " to intervene in the controversy and conflict between the government of Mexico and the Catholic Church ". With time, he came to regard this organization as isolationist. He always had hopes of world peace through an international organization, as became a pugnacious idealist. Acceptance of economic studies by Harold G. Moulton and John M. Keynes caused Ryan to accept cancellation of reparations and the war debt. In a pamphlet on *Christian Charity and the Plight of Europe* (1924), Ryan criticized the failure of religious teachers to apply Christian principles to international

affairs, their concessions " to a conception of patriotism which is essentially pagan," and the failure of many Catholics to keep free of jingoistic nationalism. This brought criticism, for here was an Irishman " playing England's game ". Years later he made a radio appeal for the adherence of the United States to the World Court which Father Coughlin did so much to defeat.[58]

Father Ryan went all-out for Senator Robert La Follette, a Wisconsin liberal, who campaigned for the presidency in 1924. This was a futile third-party revolt against the reactionary and safe Calvin Coolidge and an equally conservative Democratic candidate, John W. Davis. To the annoyance of Catholic leaders who deprecated any priest's political activity, the Progressive Party's publicity bureau utilized his printed commendation. Four years later he returned to the Democratic Party headed by Governor Alfred E. Smith, the only Catholic to be elected governor of New York and the only Catholic candidate for the presidency on a major ticket. Ryan was aroused by the Ku Klux Klan's attacks upon Smith as a Catholic. He was chagrined at the refusal of bigoted Democrats, especially Southern Bourbons, to support Smith who had given New York an administration noted for progressive and humanitarian reforms. Ryan assisted in the formulation of Smith's answers to Charles Marshall's essay in the *Atlantic Monthly* questioning whether a Catholic in the White House could give full loyalty to the Republic.[59] Smith was badly defeated in an election which might easily have gone Democratic. Indeed, Roosevelt's " Happy Warrior " was repudiated by the forces of reaction and religious intolerance. Prohibitionists, provincials, Puritans, and pious patriots would have no communion with a wet, a self-made New Yorker up from the pavement, an Irish Catholic, and a Tammany man.

Herbert Hoover, a tolerationist as a Quaker and a business man, became president only to face the inevitable depression and responsibility for everyman's ills. An unreasonable opponent of Herbert Hoover's administration and the Republican handling of the depression and unemployment, Ryan was an early advocate of federal grants of several billion dollars for public works, shorter weeks which would share the work as the unemployed increased from three to ten and to fifteen million persons, and unemployment compensation and insurance.[60]

Political Democrats, led by James A. Farley, cast Smith aside and named Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt as a candidate who could win. Father Ryan was thoroughly satisfied with the new liberalism as he read the party platform of 1932. The New Deal he accepted without equivocation and, as far as this writer knows, without any public criticism at any time. Its liberal idealism, humanitarianism, toleration, all-out labor policies, hostility toward big business, condemnation of rugged individualism, distrust of economic royalists, paternalistic support of " the forgotten man," spending for prosperity and pump-priming, curtailment

of crops, and lavish appropriations for public works, he accepted with approval.[61]

The world was looking more hopeful to Father Ryan since he sat as a guest in the office of the *New York Times* to hear *Quadragesimo Anno* in which the Holy Father approved the socio-ethical doctrines which he had professed for nearly 40 years, and reiterated vigorously Leo's pronouncements. To Ryan, this " was an exceptionally great Papal message on the social question, powerful, comprehensive, traditionally Catholic, and in the true sense of the word radical ". Rightly did Bishop Shahan observe : " Well this is a great vindication for John Ryan." [62]

In the National Industrial Recovery Act (1933) with its governmental regulation of business, fair-practices codes for all industries, a 40-hour week, minimum-wage rates, virtual elimination of child labor, established right of labor to bargain collectively, and some elements of industrial self-government, Father Ryan discerned an approach to the " kind of industrial order recommended by Pius XI ".[63] On the other hand, many clerical leaders feared that the entrenched liberals were more familiar with Marx or at least with moderate socialism and naturalism than with the Christian philosophy of life, even though there was some citing of encyclicals. As a disinterested representative of the public interest, Ryan, an NRA adviser, was appointed by General Hugh Johnson, Director of NRA, to the Industrial Appeals Board, which was instituted to protect small business which was charging that NRA code-framing and administration were dominated by the monopolistic concerns in an industry.[64] Quite upset was he when the NRA fell before a Supreme Court decision and, with it, favorable wage-and-hour regulations.

In the summer of 1934, Ryan was a visiting lecturer at the University of Wisconsin—almost a unique honor for a priest.[65] On the invitation of Madame Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Father Ryan delivered the invocation at the dedication of the New Department of Labor Building. He was a member of a federal commission which prepared the way for the current Social Security Administration and of the advisory committees for the United States Employment Service, on farm tenancy and subsistence homesteads. While it is easy to overestimate the real influence of politically named members of such committees, Father Ryan was not flattered to the point of becoming mere window-dressing. Furthermore he was growing accustomed to consideration and honors.

Scars were giving way to medals. There were honorary doctorates from Notre Dame University, the National University of Ireland[66] and Columbia University (1944). In December 1933, he was invested as a Domestic Prelate to Pope Pius XI and honored at a banquet in which prelates and public figures extolled his labors and his crusade against social greed. Edward Keating, editor of *Labor*, told why American workers loved and trusted Father Ryan : " At the dawn of the century,

he was fighting for workmen's compensation. He asked industry to treat the crippled worker with the same consideration shown the crippled machine. That was very radical then. . . . He demanded adequate child labor laws. . . . He emphasized the worker's right to organize without interference or coercion from the employer. . . . He tried to induce his government to curb these financial and business interests whose greed for profits brought on the debacle of October 1929." Spiritual Msgr. Kerby sought an interpretation of Ryan in terms of his life and philosophy as a priest: " It is the function of real philosophy, religion, and morality to strive constantly toward the integration of life around its ideal. Monsignor Ryan has insisted upon ideals that bring beauty back to life, and he has resisted wrong with constant fealty." [67]

President Roosevelt's campaign managers realized the value of Ryan's support, especially in 1936, when Irish Democrats were lukewarm and when Father Coughlin, then the greatest publicizer of social justice and a powerful radio commentator, had repudiated his friend Roosevelt even as had the forgotten Alfred E. Smith. Father Ryan attacked Father Coughlin over the radio. He challenged his political activity, growing intolerance, economics, and interpretation of the encyclicals. Such clerical conflicts and recriminations were annoying. However, Ryan's assistance was an important factor in the campaign.[68] At the President's inaugural, Father Ryan pronounced a Christian benediction—the first ever given in addition to the usual invocation by the chaplain of the Senate. Of this distinction Msgr. Ryan has written: " Some of my critics saw in the unusual introduction of a Benediction the purpose of the President to recognize my radio speech on his behalf. Perhaps they were right. If so, I have no reason to be ashamed nor is the honor thereby diminished." [69]

Organized labor grew powerful under the New Deal, though its ranks split in twain over the unionization on an industry-basis of unskilled, semi-skilled, and some white-collared workers in the heavy industries instead of in a skilled craftway. There was formed the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) which was soon at odds with the more conservative American Federation of Labor. Msgr. Ryan could not remain neutral. He turned toward the CIO in a sincerity which his old friends who remained in the AFL, as officers and members, accepted. The CIO did what had long seemed impossible, as it organized the steelworkers, the textile hands, and the automotive workers with the aid of some sit-down strikes. And with the war-demands for labor, it organized the lumber industry, rubber works, shipyards, and aircraft plants—the great war industries—with several million employees.

So disturbed was Msgr. Ryan by the Supreme Court's overthrow of liberal legislation that he joined the more aggressive New Dealers in supporting the President's court-packing program, which aroused an avalanche of opposition even among progressives who feared for the

independence of the judiciary.[70] For this scheme Ryan spoke and wrote. Roosevelt lost ; but time and the ages of the judges soon enabled him to appoint enough New Deal lawyers to command a majority of the Supreme Court and, ultimately, to liberalize the lower Federal Courts. Among the presidential appointees was Senator Black who " had joined the Klan early in his political career, apparently for about the same reasons that have moved other politicians to become affiliated with the Elks or the Knights of Columbus ".[71] This apologia overlooked the Klan's violent hatred of Catholic, Jew, and Negro and also Hugo Black's refusal to admit membership until it was proved by an active journalist. However the Justice, as Father Ryan predicted, has done creditable service on the Bench and has proven a man of toleration.

When the Harvard Law School dedicated a bust to that great lawyer, philosophical jurist, and sincere Zionist, the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the Supreme Court (1938), Msgr. Ryan gave one of the two discourses. Brandeis, whose nomination by President Wilson had been held up for four months because of senatorial hostility to him as an alleged radical socialist, was proclained by Ryan as " one of the two or three genuinely great Americans of our time ".[72]

As a complete New Dealer,[73] Ryan rejoiced in the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938) which applied to all employees in interstate commerce or in the production of goods for interstate commerce. He dared lecture on civil liberties in Jersey City ; he supported the proposed Equal Rights Amendment before the Senate Judiciary Committee ; he testified before a fact-finding board on a railroad wage dispute ; he featured a rise in wages as a means of recovery during the Roosevelt recession of 1937 ; he appeared at a Senate hearing on behalf of profit sharing.[74] He had an abiding faith in a planned economy ; but, unlike many liberals, he thought of religion as an indispensable basis of democracy and as a foundation for a just peace to inaugurate a new social order.[75] Quite naturally Ryan supported the Roosevelt-Wallace ticket in 1940, as he cast aside all democratic fears of a third term, over which Mr. Farley parted from the President. With this Washingtonian precedent broken, it was easy to accept the fourth term, and even the war-time reaction from earlier New Deal idealism as economic royalists were drafted for the mobilization of industry.

Msgr. Ryan's seventieth birthday was publicly celebrated at a banquet attended by Justices Black, Douglas, and Frankfurter, Cabinet Secretaries Morgenthau and Perkins, two score members of Congress, labor leaders, prelates, and an occasional lay teacher. To Justice Frankfurter, Ryan's claim to distinction was the application of " dogmas avowedly conservative to the solution of problems affecting the welfare of the masses in ways that have gained for him general recognition as a foremost liberal ". More satisfying were the sentiments in Roosevelt's congratulatory letter :

Because of your perennially youthful spirit and your zest for service in behalf of your fellow men—particularly the underprivileged—it is difficult to realize that you have attained the scriptural age of three score and ten.

But your birthday gives your friends a welcome opportunity to break through the reserve which your modesty has built up and to tell you of their appreciation of the good works which you have wrought through all the years of your active career. With voice and pen, you have pleaded the cause of social justice and the right of the individual to happiness through economic security, a living wage, and an opportunity to share in the things that enrich and ennoble human life.[76]

Unfettered by racial prejudice, Ryan supported the President's emergency Fair Employment Practices Committee of which Msgr. Francis J. Haas became the third head. He saw eye-to-eye with the presidential directive that there be no discrimination in employment by the Federal Government or its prime and component contractors on the basis of religion, race, national origins, or sex. This ideal has not been attained in the Federal service. Christian charity and democracy have been limited realistically by geographical lines : in the East, Jews still face economic, social, and educational discrimination ; in some sections, Catholics can not expect various public employments ; and in the Southwest, Latin-Americans are the last employed and the poorest paid. In one region one sort of foreigner is accepted whereas in another part of the land he is despised in practice. Half the trade unions do not admit Negroes. Other unions established them in segregated units. Railroads, airlines, and bus lines engaged even in interstate commerce avoid hiring Negroes as operatives. War industries accepted Negroes and aliens under the pressure of a manpower shortage. Non-discrimination has made deadly slow headway in the Armed Services. Companies blame their workers for their failure to hire Negroes ; colleges blame their student bodies for their racial and religious discrimination ; union leaders insist that the membership in some unions would rebel ; select neighborhoods want no Negro or Jew or foreign resident ; fraternal orders foster segregation.

The futility of all this hurt Father Ryan as he argued on behalf of a permanent Federal Fair Employment Practices Committee. He advised a Senate Committee that racial and economic discrimination against colored people was unmoral. He cited the riotous strike of streetcar operators in Philadelphia against the employment of Negroes.

To the last Msgr. Ryan fought that men might have a fair hearing and stood against every form of persecution and discrimination. He saw in Harry Bridges " a pest and nuisance," but he opposed his expulsion from the country for what he knew would be industrial reasons. He defended CIO's entrance into " leftist " politics through its Political Action Committee, as " any group has the moral and legal right to pursue its welfare through political action affecting legislation or the election of candidates ". Ryan continued to agitate against un-Christian racialism and growing anti-Semitism in print and in radio talks under the auspices

of the American Committee to Combat Fascism and Communism.[77] At no time did he compromise with political totalitarianism or with political bossism in certain states and cities. He was an active member of the American Palestine Committee which fights for the right of Jews to enter and to develope their historic homeland. He also promoted the recently formed Committee of Catholics for Human Rights.[78] In his idealism he was a hopeful supporter of The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, under the chairmanship of Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, which would win the peace and outlaw war. Ryan's advocacy of punishment for war criminals of the conquered peoples was really well received.[79]

Throughout 1943 and 1944 Ryan was writing or speaking on the Church's position on labor legislation for women, Catholics and Liberals, democracy, the current Bishops' Program for Economic and Social Reforms, and the dangers of a post-war depression.[80] The delivery of the benediction at President Roosevelt's fourth inaugural, January 1945, was Ryan's last public appearance. And his eulogy of Roosevelt over the nation-wide Catholic Hour was his last public pronouncement. He quoted the late President's introspective letter to him on his seventy-fifth birthday: "The things for which you have fought ceaselessly for two score years will not be easy to achieve. Much, however, has been accomplished. We must not be discouraged. The workers grow old—the work is never done; but the future is big with promise of better things." Therewith, as Ryan asked prayers in the words of King Arthur to Sir Bedivere, he concluded: "Our beloved President has gone from this troubled world, but his place in history is secure. I confidently believe that his place in eternity is likewise secure."[81]

Ryan's death brought testimonials from persons in high places, but none would please the late crusader more than the eulogies of the dominant labor figures: Philip Murray of CIO, William Green of the AFL, and John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers. No friend hit the mark closer than Mr. Lewis when he said:

> The hosts of American labor have lost a tried and true friend in the death of Msgr. Ryan. Labor today is enjoying greater success than ever before in its history, thanks to the wisdom and courage of such men as the Monsignor who, in the dark days of the past decade, never lost an opportunity to raise his voice in defense of labor's rights or in furtherance of economic security and social justice in America.[82]

The funeral Mass was celebrated by the deceased priest's brother, Lawrence Ryan, with Archbishop Murray of St. Paul pontificating. The heart-felt sermon was preached by Bishop Haas, and the remains of this devout servant were buried beside his parents in Calvary Cemetery. With proper emphasis, Father Kerby's cryptic remark was recalled: "The Catholic Church can thank God for John A. Ryan."

Washington, D.C. RICHARD J. PURCELL

NOTES

[1] Quoted in *New York Times*, Sept. 18, 1945. On Sept. 17 this paper carried a 2·5 column obituary. There were adequate obituaries in *The Star*, Washington, Sept. 17, The *Washington Post*, Sept. 17, the NCWC News Service, and the *Catholic Bulletin*, St. Paul, Sept. 22, 1945.

[2] Sept. 19, 1945.

[3] Editorial, *Evening Star*, Washington, Sept. 17, 1945.

[4] There are biographical sketches of Bishops O'Gorman, Ireland and Spalding by Richard J. Purcell in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 3, IX. 494, and XVII. 422.

[5] At the suggestion of this writer, Dr. Ryan wrote a biographical sketch of McGlynn for the *Dictionary of American Biography* (*D.A.B.*) See two valuable articles on "Americanism" by Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C. and Vincent F. Holden, C.S.P. in the *Catholic Historical Review*, July 1945.

[6] Printed by Daniel F. Reilly, O.P., *The School Controversy* (1891-1893), 246, a doctoral dissertation done under the direction of this writer.

[7] *Education and the Higher Life* (1890), *Opportunity and Other Essays* (1900), and *Socialism and Labor and Other Arguments* (1902) all influenced the young scholar and priest. Appointed an arbiter by President Theodore Roosevelt, Spalding helped settle the Anthracite Coal Strike (1903).

[8] Barry was best known in seminaries for "Americanism True and False" in the *North American Review*, July 1899. According to rumor, somewhat doubtful, he was offered a professorship at the Catholic University.

[9] There is a brief sketch of the University, a brochure, *The Catholic University of America: A Half Century of Progress* by Richard J. Purcell.

[10] John A. Ryan, *Social Doctrine in Action, A Personal History* (1941), 63. Both Msgr. Edward A. Pace and Msgr. William J. Kerby told the writer that Bouquillon was the outstanding scholar of their experience at the Catholic University. See his sketch in *D.A.B.*, II, 482, by Father Kerby.

[11] His brochure *Education: To Whom Does It Belong?* (1891) aroused the most heated educational controversy in the Church in the United States.

[12] *The Catholic World*, November 1900. This Paulist publication has given initial encouragement to a number of writers.

[13] *Social Doctrine*, 69.

[14] Father Burtsell was Doctor McGlynn's succcessful canonist. See Frederick J. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid*, III (1927).

[15] Colonel Edward Fitzpatrick's recent *Life of Charles McCarthy* gives a good account of Wisconsin's liberal laboratory of this era.

[16] *Social Doctrine*, 49.

[17] Arthur D. Spearman, S.J., "John Ryan," in W. and E.W. Huff, *Famous Americans* (1941), 493.

[18] A few years later the writer followed one of the earliest classes in labor problems at the University of Minnesota and heard of Dr. Ryan for the first time. This made the subject seem more reputable.

[19] AFL, *Post-War Forum* (New York, April 12-13, 1944), 68.

[20] *Social Doctrine*, 45, 116.

[21] *Ibid.*, 114.

[22] From "The Teaching of the Catholic Church" in a symposium on "Industrial Relations and the Churches," *The Annals*, September 1922, 77.

[23] *American Ecclesiastical Review*, February 1904. Also, "On Christian Marriage," *Ibid*, March 1931. He assailed birth control and sterilization in *New York Times*, Feb. 19, 1934, in *Forum*, July 1935; *American Mercury*, April 1944.

[24] *Social Doctrine*, 268. Msgr. Ryan pointed proudly to his hearty parents who passed their 80 years, reared 11 children (including two priests and two nuns) and left 39 grandchildren (including four priests and three nuns) and 60 great grandchildren.

[25] *Catholic World*, November 1907, February 1908.

[26] Paul and Dorothy Douglas in *What Can A Man Afford?* (1921) used $20,000, and more recently some New Dealers favored $25,000 as a maximum income under tax laws.

[27] In illustration of the failure to understand the purposes of such a conference, Doctor Kerby told the writer that, when it was first established, begging requests for financial assistance came to Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the Catholic University, who replied: "This is a society to study charity not to minister it." In the same way, uninformed persons called wolf, wolf when there was no socialist.

[28] This writer followed undergraduate courses under Professor West whose high school texts were revised for Catholic schools by the Jesuit Fathers Francis Betten and A. Kaufman as the *Ancient and Modern World* (1917, 1919).

[29] *Social Doctrine*, 125-127.

[30] His sister married Ignatius Donnelly's son, a prominent lawyer of St. Paul, and his father was Dillon O'Brien, who was associated with Archbishop Ireland's colonizing efforts. For these Minnesota cases, *Williams v. Evans*, 139 Minn. 32; *Stevenson v. St. Clair*, 161 Minn. 444.

[31] "Freedom of Speech in War Time," *Catholic World*, February 1918.

[32] *Social Doctrine*, 140.

[33] Doctors Thomas O'Gorman, Thomas E. Shields, and William Turner, later bishop of Buffalo. Richard J. Purcell has sketches of Keane, O'Gorman, and Shields, *D.A.B.*, X, 267, XIV, 3, and XVII, 106.

[34] Published under the title *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith* (1925). For some part in the direction of this dissertation, the writer admits personal satisfaction because of its exceptional recognition.

[35] Father Raymond A. McGowan, "Monsignor John A. Ryan—An Appreciation," *The Catholic University Bulletin*, November 1945.

[36] Funeral sermon preached by Bishop Francis J. Haas and printed in the *Congressional Record*, Sept. 26, 1945, at the request of Congresswoman Mary Norton, chairman of the House Committee on Labor.

[37] See Harry Carman et al., *T. V. Powderly, The Path I Trod* (1940).

[38] Title of his address before the Phi Beta Kappa Scholastic Society of Harvard University in 1929.

[39] McGowan, *loc. cit.* About this time Ryan in conjunction with Colonel Patrick W. Callahan organized an employer-employee, profit-sharing plan for the latter's Louisville Paint and Varnish Company.

[40] Sketches of Bishop Shahan and Archbishop Dowling by Richard J. Purcell in *D.A.B.*, XVII, 16, XXI, 218.

[41] Funeral sermon.

[42] *Social Doctrine*, 96n.

[43] *Ibid.*, 154.

[44] His outstanding book *Distributive Justice* (1916, 1920, revised 1942) will outlive most of his writings whose contemporaneous character makes them rather ephemeral. Of this volume, Alvin Johnson, later president of the New School for Social Research in New York (1922-1945) wrote in the liberal *New Republic* (Feb. 17, 1917): "Few ethical authorities have had sufficient knowledge of economic facts to adapt ethical principles to the economic field; few economists are abreast of the best modern work in ethics. To this rule, the most notable exception is Dr. Ryan. His economic scholarship is unimpeachable; survey his writing, and you are forced to the conclusion that among the economists of today there are not many who can match him in command of the literature and in sanity of judgment." Other books not noted elsewhere were *The Church and Labor* (1920) with Joseph Husselein, S.J.; and *The State and the Church* (1924), a compilation with Moorhouse Millar, S.J. (revised as *Catholic Principles of Politics*, in 1940, with John Bolland, C.S.C.).

[45] Bishop Muldoon's letter, *The Nation*, April 11, 1919; *Social Doctrine*, 143; compare with the "Church and Social Order" issued, Feb. 7, 1940, by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

[46] Nov. 3, 1931. See, *Social Doctrine*, 228, also his pamphlet, *The Ethics of Public Utility Valuation* (1928) published by the National Popular Government League.

[47] *Catholic Charities Review*, May 1922; *Social Doctrine*, 163.

[48] Sept. 25, 1922. Curiously enough 62 American leaders in educational and clerical professions, headed by Ryan's early student, Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara of Kansas City (and including Historian Michael Kenny, S.J., of Spring Hill College) have submitted a request for leniency to President Truman on behalf of 3,000 persons jailed for their refusal to serve in the Armed Forces in this war. *New York Times*, Dec. 10, 1945.

[49] *Social Doctrine*, 159f.

[50] *Ibid.*, 175. The American Association of University Professors of about 16,000 members publishes a quarterly *Bulletin* under the editorship of Ralph E. Himstead and an editorial committee of four professors, including this writer.

[51] See articles in *American Ecclesiastical Review*, April 1924; *Catholic World*, May 1925, as revised in *Declining Liberty and Other Papers* (1927); *Social Doctrine*, 179. See *New Republic*, Sept. 11, 1929, Jan. 22, 1930; *Commonweal*, June 19, 1929, Dec. 14, 1932, Feb. 1, 1933; *New York Times*, Feb. 27, 1930.

[52] *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 261 U.S. 525, 1923. Ryan criticized this decision in the *Catholic World*, May 1923. His observations and articles were printed as a pamphlet

The Supreme Court and The Minimum Wage. See also, *Murphy et al. v. A. Sardell*, 269 U.S., 530, 1925; *Morehead, Warden v. New York ex rel. Joseph Tipaldo*, 298 U. S., 587, 1936.

[53] *West Coast Hotel Company v. Parrish*, 300 U.S. 379, 1937 over ruled the Adkins Case. At present 26 individual States have minimum wage laws.

[54] *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 247 U.S. 251, 1918; *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Company*, 259 U.S. 20, 1922.

[55] Today 28 (none since 1937) of the necessary 36 States have ratified. With the employment of women and children during the war, under a relaxation of State laws, interest has ceased for the moment.

[56] *Social Doctrine*, 223.

[57] Vincent A. McQuade, O.S.A., *The American Catholic Attitude on Child Labor Since* 1891 (1938) was accepted by the School of Social Sciences on the recommendation of Professors Paul H. Furfey, Ryan, and Purcell.

[58] *New York Times*, Jan. 29, 1935.

[59] *Atlantic Monthly*, April 1927; *Current History Magazine*, March, December 1928. See his "Enduring Anti-Catholic Tradition," *Commonweal*, June 26, 1929.

[60] See articles in *Catholic World*, February 1929, March 1929, May 1930, November 1932; *Commonweal*, June 26, Oct. 16, 23, 1929, Jan. 4, 1933; *Questions of the Day* (1931); *New York Times*, Sept. 1, 22, 1930, Jan. 20, Feb. 18, Oct. 15, 28, 1931, May 1, Nov. 22, 1932.

[61] Series of articles in the *Commonweal*, Oct. 6, 20, Dec. 22, 1933, Apr. 13, 1934.

[62] *Social Doctrine*, 242. Father Ryan compared this encyclical with that of Leo XIII, *New York Times*, May 26, 1931; his report on "Catholic Church and Social Questions," *Annals* of American *Academy*, January 1933.

[63] See, *New York Times*, Mar. 27, Oct. 3 (on unemployment), 1933.

[64] *New York Times*, June 19, 24, 1933, July 17, 1934.

[65] His lectures appeared as *A Better Economic Order* (1935).

[66] Doctor Ryan visited Ireland during the troubles and at the time of the Eucharistic Congress, wrote articles on the question of Land Annuities, and contributed several articles to STUDIES. His unpopular views on Irish Land Annuities were set forth in the *Commonweal*, Sept. 28, Oct. 5, Nov. 2, 1932.

[67] Quoted, Spearman, *loc. cit.*, See, *Catholic World*, October 1933, 112; *Literary Digest*, Dec. 23, 1933.

[68] *Social Doctrine* does not index Father Coughlin's name. Msgr. Ryan told this writer he was well advised to omit this controversy. See also the *Commonweal*, Oct. 23, Nov. 6, 1936 and *New York Times*, Oct. 10, 16, 1939.

[69] No other priest has ever taken part in an inauguration. Constantine Pise was elected chaplain of the Senate in 1832. He was the only Catholic priest so honored. Richard J. Purcell in *D.A.B.*, XIV, 634. *Social Doctrine*, 271; his *Seven Troubled Years* (1937), 295-301.

[70] *New York Times*, Feb. 23, 1937.

[71] *Social Doctrine*, 274. See his "Due Process and Mr. Justice Black," *Catholic World*, April 1940.

[72] *Social Doctrine*, 271-274.

[73] As "Rt. Rev. New Dealer," *Time* carried his portrait, January 11, 1943.

[74] *New York Times*, Jan. 18, 26, Feb. 8, 13, Mar. 25, Oct. 13, Dec. 1, 1938; his "Social Justice and the State," *Commonweal*, June 16, 1939.

[75] *New York Times*, June 13, 1939, March 27, 1941, Aug. 26, 1942, Sept. 13, 1943; *Vital Speeches*, Aug. 15, 1939.

[76] *Social Doctrine*, 277. E. H. Smith contributed "Three Score and Ten: Priestly Achievements in Economics and Public Life" to the *Commonweal*, June 9, 1939.

[77] For earlier articles, see "Anti-Semitism in the Air," *Commonweal*, Dec. 30, 1938, revised as "Catholics and Anti-Semitism," *Current History*, February 1939.

[78] This Committee will award an annual Ryan Medal for outstanding Catholic contribution to improved racial and human relations. The first awards (1945) were given to Philip Murray, president of the CIO, and Auxiliary Bishop Bernard Shiel of Chicago.

[79] *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, Feb. 27, 1943.

[80] *New Republic*, Apr. 12, Sept. 20, 1943; *Commonweal*, June 28, 1943, Oct. 13, 1944; *Congressional Digest*, April 1943; *Vital Speeches*, Feb. 15, 1943; *New York Times*, Feb. 23, Apr. 27, 1944.

[81] Franklin Delano Roosevelt, *A Tribute of the Catholic Hour*, Apr. 15, 1945.

[82] *New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1945.

THE TRAGEDY OF POLAND

BY JOHN MURRAY, S.J.
Editor of *The Month*

THE position of Poland today is as remarkable from the point of view of history as it is sad and distressful when viewed from the standpoint of humanity and honour—the honour not of Poland, but of Poland's allies in the war against Germany. It is an eloquent commentary upon the rapacity of one of these allies and upon the timidity and lack of principle of the others. For Poland, be it noted, is one of the victor countries; the Poles fought against Germany longer than any other people—two days longer than the British, nearly two years longer than the Russians; they fought with a gallantry and courage that have never been called in question; in Poland the Germans could find no Quisling, no Degrelle, no Vlassov to play their Nazi game. Despite all this, when we look at Poland, we see—I trust with some feeling of astonishment and indignation—that practically one half of Polish territory, as it existed from 1921 to 1939, has been handed over to Russia by the Heads of the three chief Allied States, who very strangely indeed thought it unnecessary to seek the consent of, or even to consult, the Polish Government of the time. We see Poland garrisoned with Russian and Russian-controlled troops and administered by a Provisional "Government," consisting almost wholly of Communists with scarcely any support from the Polish people. We see a land through which walk the spectres of famine and distress; where every voice is stilled save that which blares and blusters from the East; where no man's liberty is secure, and where the prisons and concentration camps have changed nothing but their label and are used for the same purpose of political oppression.

This is Poland—please remember, one of the victor countries in the long war for Justice against Oppression, in the defence of the rights of smaller people against their aggressive neighbours, in the name of freedom over tyranny. The fine principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter and the "Four Freedoms" of President Roosevelt blow like a bitter wind over the grey wastes of the Polish countryside. The preamble to the Charter of the United Nations Association must ring in mocking tones in Polish ears. In 1939 it was recognised that Poland was the test-case of the second World War as, twenty-five years earlier, Belgium had been the test-case in the first World War. The Peace Proposals of Pope Benedict XV that were put before the Central Powers by Mgr. Pacelli, now Pius XII, in the early autumn of 1917, broke down precisely on this point; the Germans refused to restore Belgium. The war continued more than another year till Germany was defeated and Belgium regained her liberty. The Allied victory over the Central Powers was symbolised by the re-establishment of Belgian independence. That test-case had been fully faced, and its consequences properly drawn. What Belgium was in 1914, that in 1939 was Poland. If the appeal of "brave little

Belgium " united the people of Britain in the former year, so in the latter they were made conscious of the need to withstand Germany by the appeal of a " gallant Poland," attacked from East as well as West and " crucified," to use the expression of Cardinal Hinsley, " between two thieves ". The late Cardinal insisted time and time again that Poland was the test-case in this war ; and among the shadows that gathered round him during the last few months of his life was the suspicion that this time the Allied Powers were permitting the waters of idealism to sink deep into the sands of compromise and that they would not face the issue that was involved in the test-case of this war.

Yet, in a manner, Poland has been a test-case for European peace and order since the middle of the eighteenth century. The three partitions of Poland, in 1772, 1793 and 1795, engineered by Prussia and Russia with Austria's half-hearted collaboration, were a severe shock to the balance of Europe and brought Prussia and Russia into that close proximity which had much to do with the genesis of the two World Wars and the rise of the totalitarian systems of Bolshevism and National-Socialism. In these partitions, Prussia was the greater villain, though Russia secured the larger share. Then came Napoleon and the revival of Polish national hopes. These were to have a very limited and impermanent success, in the existence after 1815 of a so-called Kingdom of Poland under the Russian crown—a kingdom that was robbed of all significance after the Polish national rising of 1830. Interesting parallels could be drawn between the desire of Britain, France and Austria, in 1814-15, for an independent Poland which found expression in their defensive alliance against Russia precisely on this Polish question, and the British, French and American interest in Polish independence during the war of 1939-45. In 1814-15, however, Prussia went over to the Russian side and the British Foreign Minister, Castlereagh, bowed to what are politely called " political realities "—an expression sadly reminiscent of the bargaining away of half of Poland at the Yalta Conference. For fifteen years Russian policy towards what remained of Poland was fairly enlightened ; the Poles were accorded a wider freedom than the people of Russia, and the Czar, Alexander I, influenced by the liberal ideas of the French Revolution and by the guidance of the Polish prince, Adam Czartoryski, was willing to allow to the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Poland certain constitutional liberties that he dared not grant in his own land. But Alexander was followed by Nicholas I, the liberal monarch by the autocrat ; and after 1830 Poland became a Russian province, ruled for practical purposes by a military governor. The remainder of the nineteenth century is the story of the Polish people suffering from Prussian oppression in the West and Russian tyranny in the East, with Polish centres of national spirit and culture flourishing in Galicia under the tolerant and more humane authority of the Habsburgs.

The origins of the 1914-18 war had nothing to do with Poland. Politically, these origins can be discovered in the tension between Germany and France, which had remained acute since 1871 ; in the rivalry, more economic than political, between Germany and Great Britain ; and in the long-standing antagonism between Russia and Austria-Hungary in South-Eastern Europe. But though the question of Poland had nothing to do with the genesis of the war, it had a good deal to do with its outcome. The Poles were wooed, both from the German and the Russian side, with promises of freedom and limited independence. Poles were compelled to fight for all three Powers of the Partition. They fought the most willingly for Austria, that had treated them reasonably well, against the Russia that had treated them badly. Indeed, it was from the Austrian-held part of Poland that the national forces of liberation chiefly came. In 1917 Russia was completely defeated ; in 1918 the Central Powers collapsed. Meanwhile, among the Fourteen Points of President Wilson it was expressly stated that there must again be a free and independent Poland, with an access to the sea. The world was made conscious that a gifted and gallant people had shaken off the chains of dependence and oppression and that one of the gravest of all historical crimes and errors was now at last being righted.

I am not going to speak here of the birth pangs of the Polish Republic, of the ebb and flow of the Russo-Polish war of 1919-20, of the slow but steady reconstruction of a country which had been the scene of heavy fighting, or even of the vicissitudes of Polish political life between 1921 and 1939. Sufficient to say that this was a period of great advance and development with a new educational system and social services and experiments and that, in spite of some mistakes, Poland played a worthy and distinguished part in the European order.[1] Although Poland, an essentially Christian country, was thoroughly opposed to Russian Communism and her relations with Russia were at times uneasy, as were all relations between European powers and Russia, they did improve after 1930. In 1932 Poland and Russia signed a pact of non-aggression which was renewed in 1934. Whatever the difference in outlook and ideology between Poles and Russians, and however much the Poles may, indeed must, have distrusted their Communist neighbours, the fact remains

[1] A fully-illustrated study of Polish development in the between-war years may be found in *Poland's Progress* : 1919-1939, published by the London firm of John Murray, in 1944. There are sections on the enlargement and adornment of cities, like Cracow, Lwów, Wilno, Poznan and Gydnia ; on education and literature ; on social legislation, including the provisions for recreation, sport and public health. In a foreword, Sir Ernest Barker writes : " I saw many ' Cavalier ' things in Poland a dozen years ago—monuments of Sobieski ; trophies of the Turkish wars ; the gallantries and splendours of Polish kings and Polish nobles. Being an old teacher of history, I confess that I was fascinated by these things. But the abiding memory which I brought away was something different. It was a memory of the Polish people—a sober and hard-working people—soberly setting their house in order. It was a memory of industrial, educational, and medical effort, directed to laying the foundations of a healthy life, both of body and mind, for the whole of the people of Poland."

that Poland did not allow itself to be used as a pawn in the Nazi game. It became a habit with " progressive " journalists and politicians in 1944 and 1945 to decry the Polish Government prior to 1939 as " Fascist " and " reactionary," just as these same gentlemen in 1946 have heaped their abuse and calumnies upon the gallant Polish armies that have fought so magnificently with the Allies in what they must have been tempted at times to feel was already a lost cause. Had the pre-1939 Government been " Fascist " and " reactionary " in the sense that these gentlemen imply, and had it, in consequence, associated with other " Fascist " powers or at least yielded to their pressure, the European situation might have been, indeed would have been, very different. There would have been in Poland no Bierut, no Gomulka, no Russian security police ; German police would be directing the traffic in Moscow, as Russian police are actually directing what traffic there is in Berlin. Gratitude is not a large factor in modern history ; but it is well worth remembering that, according to every historical probability, the Russians owe a considerable measure of their ultimate victory to the first heroic resistance offered to the Nazis by the Poles.

This brings us to 1939 and to the guarantee given by Britain to the Polish Government. It was a guarantee of British assistance if Poland were to be attacked. Obviously, the country which the British Government had in mind was Germany, and it is no doubt possible to argue legalistically that this guarantee could not bind Britain in the event of a Russian attack on Poland or of Russian collaboration in a German invasion. But guarantees have their spirit as well as their literal terms. Britain gave this guarantee to the Poland which existed in 1939 and as it then existed, not to some imaginary Poland of the past or the future, but to the country whose Government, army and people united in resistance to the German invasion. So much was understood in 1939. The Russian invasion of Poland in September was then regarded as a" stab in the back" and not interpreted, as it came to be interpreted after June 1941, as a benevolent move on the part of a kindly Russian Government to spare the people of Eastern Poland the rigours of Nazi occupation. The Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of August 23, 1939, gave the Germans security on their Eastern flank while they invaded Poland and faced Britain and France ; it also included a further partition of Polish territory.[1]

The experiences of the Poles under this double occupation of Germany

[1] The best account which I know of the relations between Germany and Russia between August, 1939, and June, 1941, is to be found in a most illuminating book, written by M. Gregory Gafencu and published in Switzerland by the *Librairie de l'Université de Fribourg* in 1943. M. Gafencu was Foreign Minister of Roumania from December 23, 1938, until he resigned at the end of May, 1940 From August, 1940, to June 24th, 1941, he was Roumanian Ambassador in Moscow. Writing with a sense of history as well as considerable personal experience of diplomacy and international affairs, he draws fascinating parallels between Napoleon's relations with the Czar, Alexander I, and those of Hitler with the Soviet Government. The book has recently been issued by Frederick Muller in an English translation, which I have not yet examined.

and Russia were cruel and bitter. Which was the more horrible, it might be difficult to say. Comparisons are odious, this comparison particularly so. However, on the night of June 21-22, 1941, the Germans invaded Russia. It appeared as though the tide of history had suddenly turned. Russia which up to now had been in actual, if half-hearted, partnership with Germany, was thrust into the Allied camp. From an oppressor of the Poles, she became overnight Poland's associate and ally. A few weeks subsequently, the Russian Government made an agreement with the Polish Government which, under General Sikorski, was solidly established in London. On the Russian side, this completely renounced what Russia had received as her share of the Ribbentrop-Molotov contract. The text of this agreement commenced as follows :—

(i) The Government of the U.S.S.R. *recognizes the Soviet-German Treaties of* 1939 *as to territorial changes in Poland as having lost their validity.*
(ii) Diplomatic relations will be restored between the two Governments upon the signing of this Agreement, and an immediate inter-change of Ambassadors will be arranged.
(iii) The two Governments *mutually agree to render one another aid and support of all kinds* in the present war against Hitlerite Germany.

After this agreement had been concluded, Mr. Eden handed to General Sikorski an official note. This assured the Polish Government that :

In accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Military Aid between Great Britain and Poland, dated August 25, 1939, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has not undertaken any obligations to the U.S.S.R. which would affect the relations between that State and Poland. I desire also to assure you that *His Majesty's Government does not recognize any territorial changes made in Poland since August* 1939.

This was a clear statement of the position, as this was envisaged in the summer of 1941. While welcoming Russia into the Grand Alliance which, for two years, had been fighting against Germany, Britain implicitly condemned Russia's collaboration with Germany between August 1939 and June 1941—in particular the Russo-German partition of Poland. The Russian Government acknowledged the Polish Government (then in London) as the sole legitimate authority for Poland and admitted that its own seizure of Polish territory had been invalid.

For some months after this agreement, Russo-Polish relations were reasonably good. Large numbers of Poles were released from Russian prisons and concentration camps ; many were able to leave Russia and join the Polish armies abroad. It is computed that several hundred thousand Poles were thus liberated and received passports from the newly-established Polish Embassy. By November, however, a new note had crept into this relationship. The Russian authorities started to discriminate between Polish citizens of purely Polish origin and those who were of Ukrainian or White Russian or Jewish descent ; the latter, were they fit for military service, were now to be enrolled in the Red Army. To a

protest note from the Polish Government the Russian authorities replied, on December 1st, 1941, that there was some doubt about the true citizenship of such persons, because " the question of the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. and Poland is not yet settled and is subject to revision in the future." Stalin did sign a declaration, with General Sikorski, in the Kremlin, that Polish-Russian relations would be based on " mutual honest observance of the undertaking they have assumed ". Yet Sikorski had no sooner left Russia than Soviet war communiqués started to refer to towns in Eastern Poland as though they were part of Soviet territory. The friendly interlude in Russo-Polish relations was drawing to a speedy end, and it was becoming clear that Russia was contemplating yet another partition of Poland and was hoping to secure, with the approval of the Western Powers, what it thought itself to have secured in August 1939 through the Ribbentrop-Molotov compact. In 1942 it was made practically impossible for the Polish Embassy in Russia to protect Polish citizens. Finally, on April 26, 1943, the Soviet authorities broke off diplomatic relations with the Polish Government, the pretext being Soviet indignation that the Government of Poland had asked for an impartial inquiry into the murder of thousands of Polish officers in Katyn Forest.

There followed three stages in the gradual abandonment of Poland by the Allies. The first of them was wholly Russian in initiative ; the second was jointly taken by Britain, Russia and the United States ; the third was a British, and subsequently an American, ratification of step No. 2.

After the rupture of diplomatic relations between the Russian and Polish Governments, the Russians set up in Russia a Committee for Polish Affairs under the name of the Lublin Committee ; this was destined to be the nucleus of a new " Polish Government," as soon as the Russians should enter Poland. When this " Committee " was raised by its Soviet masters to the more exalted status of a " Government," it was put into the hands of M. Bierut, a Soviet citizen of Polish origin, a man trained in the Moscow University of Revolution and whose previous connections with Poland were those of a secret organiser on behalf of the Comintern and, from 1936 onwards, the head of the Polish section of the Russian secret police.

The second stage followed, with the meeting of Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt and M. Stalin at Yalta. On February 11, 1945, a joint declaration was published, embodying the arrangements made about Poland at this conference. These arrangements—surely among the most remarkable in history—may be summarised as follows :—

(i) The Eastern provinces of Poland, comprising nearly half of Poland, as it existed in 1939, and containing more than one-third of the Polish population, are to be handed over to Russia. There was to be no election ; neither the Polish Government nor the people were to be

consulted. Some extra territory, taken from Germany, was promised for the future.[1]

(ii) The Western half of Poland is to have a new Government. The Yalta communiqué was cunningly drawn up, so as to exclude all mention of the proper Polish Government in London. In section vii of the declaration, referring to Poland, it is stated that the Soviet Government recognise the " Lublin Committee," but it is not so much as hinted that the Governments of Britain and the U.S.A. acknowledged the Polish Government in London, which was recognized by practically all the United Nations.[2]

(iii) The nucleus of the new Government to be established in Poland is this Lublin Committee or Government (termed in the Yalta statement " the present Provisional Government " or " the Provisional Government now functioning in Poland "). This is to be *broadened*, not—be it noticed—by any measure of agreement with the legitimate Government of Poland in London, but through " the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland and from Poles abroad ".

(iv) Finally, free and unfettered elections are to be held in Western Poland, and all *democratic* and *anti-Nazi* parties may take part. What parties, it might be asked, so " democratic " and " anti-Nazi " as Poland's historic parties which rallied the Polish people behind them in resistance to the attack of Germany, what time Russia had made its unholy Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact with Nazi Germany?

The more I reflect upon the Yalta declarations, the more am I struck by the cynical and aggressive imperialism of Soviet Russia and the equally cynical desire, on the part of Britain and the United States, to get on with the war against Germany regardless of principle and of the liberties of an Allied people—and of that people that was the test-case of the war

[1] In the House of Commons' debate on these Yalta agreements, Mr. Kenneth Pickthorn observed : " It seems to me that, however much this may be the best arrangement and however much it may be said that the Poles are idiots for wanting to keep their own provinces or for not wanting to have chunks of Germany, what sticks in my gizzard, what I find impossible to give positive approval to, is that, so far as I know, it is *the first time in history that one country has had both its régime and its boundaries altered in the course of a war by three other nations*—all in *alliance with it*, or at least, two of them are in alliance in every sense of the word, and the third is in alliance in one sense or another—*without that country being present.*" Mr. Churchill had the vote of confidence which he demanded after the Yalta conference, but many speeches showed doubts and reservations, and others frankly condemned the agreement as dishonourable and unjust—as, of course, it most decidedly was.

The later extension of the Western boundaries of Poland well into pre-war Germany has never been approved by the Polish people, which has been given no opportunity to express its true opinion on this or any other political question.

[2] It is difficult to pass over, without grave censure, the slovenliness of the British and American representatives in tolerating this misleading communiqué. In the Yalta debate, Mr. Eden intervened to quiet the fears of many Conservative members. He made the following statement : " We have in no sense recognized the Lublin Committee and, may I add, we have no intention of recognizing the Lublin Committee. *We do not regard it as representative of Poland at all.* When my Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Churchill) and I met the representatives of this Committee in Moscow, I must say they did not make a favourable impression upon us. *There is no question*, and the House need not be anxious that there is any question, of *our affording recognition to them—not at all.*" Yet what was eventually recognized by Mr. Eden's Government—this is step No. 3—was just this highly unsatisfactory and unrepresentative Committee.

and had shouldered immense sacrifices and burdens in the common struggle.[1]

Step No. 3 came some months afterwards. M. Mikolajczyk, with one or two of his colleagues of the Polish Peasant Party, returned to Poland and officially joined the " Provisional Government ". On the eve of the British elections, Mr. Churchill announced British recognition for the " Provisional Government ".

The Western Powers had now recognized the Lublin Committee, erected into a " Government " by the Russians and now *broadened* by the inclusion of M. Mikolajcyk and one or two of his colleagues. But it should be remembered that this recognition—shameful enough, in all conscience—was valid only on the condition that " free and unfettered elections " were to be held in Poland.

. . . . . .

To turn now to the actual state of Poland. I shall say little about economic conditions. These are serious indeed ; there is severe distress in Poland as in Hungary and the Balkans. Yet one or two points call for special mention. The first is the political motive that underlies the present methods of distribution. Heavy workers rightly receive a larger ration allowance than others : so much is understandable. But Communists also have preferential treatment ; this is sheer political discrimination. The introduction of this political motive into what ought to be one of the noblest works of man, namely the relief of suffering and distress, is a very nasty feature in modern Europe, a part of the Communist belief that you can just as easily starve as bludgeon your adversary into impotence. But I was glad to learn a few days ago, and from official sources, that there is no real evidence for the often repeated statement that a percentage of the U.N.R.R.A. goods, sent to Poland, is confiscated by the Russians for their own purposes. A second problem is that of the farm implements and machinery and the livestock which have been removed out of Poland into Russia. Speaking at a public meeting in Detroit, last October, Congressman T. S. Gordon declared, on his return from a visit to Poland :—

> We have seen on the roads, and even on the streets of Warsaw, long herds of cows, horses, pigs, etc., driven eastwards by Russian soldiers. We were told by these soldiers that this is German cattle being taken into Russia, but Polish peasants with whom we talked know differently. These peasants, who were given small

[1] In the *Month* for March-April 1945, I have dealt more fully with this agreement, under the title of " The Polish Tragedy : Reflections on the Yalta Conference and Debate." There I examined certain arguments, adduced at the time by those who sought to justify the decisions taken—*e.g.* the pleas that the Curzon Line had been generally recognized in 1919 as the proper Russo-Polish frontier and that the Treaty of Riga had been forced upon a defeated and helpless Russia. I also considered the question of the mixed population in Poland's Eastern provinces and the pre-1939 relations there between Ukrainians, Russians and Poles. No one argues that the boundaries established at the Treaty of Riga were fixed for all time and unalterable. The point is that they ought not to have been changed over the head of the Polish Government and without the slightest reference to the people of those provinces.

land-holdings, have to till their soil with bare hands. The cattle and horses and every implement of agriculture were taken from them. In a locality near Warsaw where a 120-acre estate was divided among sixteen families, we were told that these sixteen families own ' collectively ' just one pig, and they have to hide that pig under straw whenever Russians are in the vicinity. The 20 per cent. of the crop left to the peasant after the removal of his livestock and agricultural implements, and after 80 per cent. of his crop has been taken from him, leaves barely enough for his own family.

Politically, Poland is to-day administered by what is, for practical purposes, a Communist Government, which remains in power only because of Russian support and is staving off, as long as it can and dare, the holding of elections. These, if " free and unfettered," as they have been pledged to be, would remove this Government completely. The Communists have never had any real influence in Poland. At no election, whether parliamentary or municipal before 1939, did they gain more than 2 per cent. of the votes. The Poles are fundamentally Catholic and completely opposed to the atheistic theories and practices of Communism ; they are also, in the main, a peasant folk, tenacious of their own way of life, their culture and traditions ; they are a strongly national people, abominating this new influx from the East ; they are a freedom-loving nation—that the nineteenth century proved beyond every doubt. The address of Mr. T. S. Gordon, referred to above, contained another paragraph that should be quoted :—

> Much as every Pole wants food, fuel and clothing, he wants freedom more. The spirit of the Polish people is not broken. The man in the street is not afraid to die. He prefers death to life under the present political set-up. If an impartial, free, and unfettered election could be held in Poland, without tickets being prepared in advance, without arrests and deportations, the Polish people would wipe out the Government of Bierut and Osubka-Morawski. However, should the present situation persist, Poland will quickly be turned into a Soviet province, ruled by Soviet police, despite the fact that Russia will fail to communize the Christian Polish people and to imbue the God-fearing Poles with the Soviet totalitarian doctrines.

The present Government is based upon a supposed coalition of five political parties, and only one of these, the Polish Peasant Party, under M. Mikolajczyk, is independent of Communist control. The Workers' Party is Communist, pure and simple ; in addition, there exist three " splinter " parties—Socialist, Democratic and Peasant—which have nothing except their names in common with the Polish parties from before the war. M. Osubka-Morawski, for instance, was an insignificant member of the Polish Socialist Party prior to 1939. During the war, he left that party and set up a small group of Polish Socialist Workers that was in close liaison with the Communists. With the establishment of the Lublin Committee, he suddenly emerged, with no mandate from anyone but himself and the Russians, as the leader of the Socialist Party. The so-called Democratic and Peasant groups are small in membership and officered by Communists. When this Government was *broadened* after

Yalta, sixteen of the twenty-one ministers belonged to these Communist or Communist-controlled groups; four posts were allotted to the Mikolajczyk group and one to an independent, M. Stanczyk. Among the positions held by Communists are those of Premier (M. Osubka-Morawski), First Vice-Premier (M. Gomulka), Foreign Minister (M. Rzyomski), Minister of Security (M. Radkiewicz), Minister of Commerce and Industry (M. Minc), and Minister of Propaganda and Information (M. Matuszewski).

The Polish underground State which continued hostilities against the Germans, was based upon the collaboration of four political parties, all of which, prior to the war, had resisted dictatorship and were democratic in their principles. The first of these was the National Democratic or National Party, with strong support from the people of Northern and Western Poland. This was the oldest political organization in Poland; it believed in friendship with the countries of Western Europe but also in rapprochement with Russia. Its leader, M. Roman Dmowski, who died early in 1939, was an important figure in the Polish revival from 1914 to 1919, when he became President of the Polish National Committee in Paris together with M. Paderewski. He signed the Treaty of Versailles on behalf of Poland. This party has simply been prohibited by the Lublin Government and denied all political rights. A shameful feature of the men at present in charge in Warsaw is their denial of Polish national traditions and their contempt for Polish national sentiment. They have denounced and reviled the men of the Polish Home Army who fought bravely and with slender resources against the Germans; they have covered with their abuse the heroic defenders of Warsaw and the officers and men of the Polish armies, whose prowess in the field and whose other very human qualities have been recognized and appreciated by Americans and French and British. The second party was that of the Christian Democrats. Its chief representative, M. Jankowski, once Vice-Premier of the Polish Underground Cabinet, is now in a Moscow prison; all that remains is the " splinter " group, under Communist leaders. The third, the Socialist, party—one of whose prominent leaders, M. Arciczewski, was the last Prime Minister of the legitimate Polish Government in London—is denied political existence, and the " splinter " section of M. Osubka-Morawski has adopted both the name of the party and of its daily paper, *Robotnik*. Only the fourth party, that of the Polish Peasants, is permitted to continue, though hampered in every conceivable manner. M. Mikolajczyk is a member of the Government, but he is thwarted on every point; his colleagues have been murdered—sometimes, as Mr. Bevin has declared in the House of Commons, with the connivance of the security police; pressure is continuously applied to make him agree to the favourite Communist device of a single electoral list in the long-promised elections that have been postponed to some vague and indefinite

date. Polish opinion abroad was very divided when M. Mikolajczyk took the momentous decision to return to his country and to take a position in the existing Government. His decision is now seen to have been wise as well as very courageous; his experience has clearly shown the impossibility of co-operation with the gang of Moscow-trained revolutionaries imposed from above and outside upon the much-tried people of Poland.

Poland to-day is a police State. The Government has next to no popular backing; order is maintained, in so far as it is maintained, through threat and terrorism, through a highly and widely organized security police. This is Russian in control and methods. It includes a Security Corps, with two armoured regiments, stationed in Warsaw and Cracow; fifteen special regiments, garrisoned in different centres; and nine guard battalions. It is completely militarised and, like the German S.S., has its own uniform. Its head is a Russian Lieutenant General, his staff consists of Russian Communists in Polish uniform. What this police force means should be evident from the previous history of the S.S. in Hitler's Germany and of the O.G.P.U. and its successor, the N.K.V.D., in Soviet Russia. In the first place, it is outside and beyond the ordinary law. But even the ordinary law, as that is acknowledged in Western Europe, is being altered under the influence of Polish Communists. Not long ago the "Ministry of Justice" in Warsaw published a work, with the title: "Administration of Justice in Reborn Poland from July 22nd, 1944, to July 22nd, 1945." The Vice-Minister for Justice, M. Leon Chajn, contributed an article describing the aims and task of Polish jurisdiction. "Jurisdiction," he declared, "must be transformed. The judge should express public views and sentiments. He should abstain from the principles of 'objective truth,' so that a collective understanding of truth may be arrived at. The sentence should be adjusted to the people's feeling as to what is right and not to formal statutes of the law." There you have the philosophy behind the "People's Courts" in those countries which lie exposed to Russian force and Communist influence. What matters is no longer objective right and wrong or what the accused may actually have done but the popular reaction to the person of the accused or to his politics. M. Chajn is reported as having declared, on September 6th, 1945:—

> We all know that among honest and devoted men in the Polish Courts of Law are also to be found reactionary elements, which are working for the enemy camp. These elements will be expelled in a short time by the Administration of Justice. Facing the hard struggle in Poland between the reactionaries and the democrats the Judicature will have to show, once and for all, whose side it is on. It is evident that there is no place for judges who stand for the principles of 'objective truth'. There is only one truth, that which serves Democracy, and the falsity which serves the reactionaries. If in the difficult problems of the nation the Judicature does not make a decisive stand for the vital interest of the Government, then Polish

Democracy will be compelled to look for a new body of judges, even if that should mean the removal of the entire Polish bench."

For " democracy " read Communism and in place of " reactionaries " put the ninety-five per cent. of the people of Poland opposed to it, and you can take the measure of the new legal conceptions of the gentlemen of Lublin. You can also estimate what reliance is to be placed upon their promise of " free and unfettered elections," the result of which is certain to reject their notions of " democracy " and to establish a government of " reactionaries ".

If this is the spirit of the Law itself, what can one expect from security police who operate outside it? Report after report comes from Polish sources of arrests and deportations to Russia, of an all-pervading suspicion and fear and foreboding. And these reports are supported by many accounts of conditions in Poland from foreign visitors. Among these visitors, in the second half of 1945, was Mr. E. J. Williams, of the American *Christian Science Monitor*, who stated that " when a person calls a Polish Government department on the telephone, he is often answered by a person who is unable to speak any Polish—any Russian." He remarked that Poland to-day is smaller than pre-1939 Poland and has only about two-thirds of its population ; " yet its so-called public security organizations are four times as large as those of August 1939 ". Further, " these Polish security organizations, the Poles themselves admit, are at a low moral and intellectual level, and generally are under Communist control. . . . . There is a great dread of personal harm among the majority of ordinary people who have in any way had anything to do with politics, other than that of the extreme left. . . . In addition to the Polish secret police there is also throughout the country the Russian secret police, the N.K.V.D. . . These latter have their own activities, which increase considerably the Polish citizens' sense of personal insecurity." Speaking of the number of political prisoners, Mr. Gladwin Hill, of the *New York Times*, reported that Government officials had admitted to him that there were 60,000 to 80,000 of these. " The belief is widespread in Warsaw that there are 10,000 at Cracow alone, and some responsible observers think the total may be nearer 100,000. The former German concentration camp at Oswiecim, whose name to any Pole is synonymous with horror, is operating again under Polish auspices, and its wire fences have been charged with electricity." Small wonder, therefore, if the great majority of the Polish troops outside Poland prefer to stay in exile, away from their land of heart's desire, rather than return to it at present, in its sorry state of tragedy and ruthless oppression![1]

[1] These extracts have been mostly taken from a collection of reports, provided by recent visitors to Poland, and published by the Polish Freedom Movement, in London, with an introduction by Sir George A. Waters. They include accounts by correspondents of the American papers, *Christian Science Monitor* and *New York Times*, of the British *Daily Herald*, *Daily Mail* and *Spectator*, and of the French journals, *Figaro*, *L'Aube*, *Temps Présent*, *Carrefour* and *Dernière Paris*.

As one conference between the Big Three, Four or Five succeeds another, with little tangible result except the growing conviction that it is impossible for Soviet Russia and the Western Powers to see eye to eye on any fundamental issue, and as it becomes increasingly obvious that no peace settlement, worthy of the name or with any chances of proving permanent, can be constructed upon the shoddy bases of compromise and improvisation, the men who have the heavy responsibility of re-creating a shattered and chaotic Continent must get back to solid principles and call to mind those aims and ideals they set before themselves in the darker and yet more honourable early years of the war. It has proved, it is proving, and it must inevitably prove impossible to build a new world in the spirit of the hustings and the black market. It is not a question of " give and take," of an economic concession here and a military base somewhere else, but of an " accept and recognise," when principles of elementary justice and order are presented. There is no other way out of chaos ; there is no other way to avoid disaster. These principles have been roughly enshrined and, for the time, sufficiently enshrined in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. Could these be applied fairly and reasonably in the Peace Conference to the countries and peoples of the Continent, you would have a basis for true peace, you would have supplied that measure of freedom and security which is an even greater necessity to-day than any purely material or economic alleviation.

There are signs that the Western Governments are stiffening and are likely to insist seriously that the elections which they have guaranteed shall be " free and unfettered " in Poland, will be so in effect, as far at least as they can secure this by their insistence. There can, of course, be no real security for the peoples of East-Central Europe until the Russian armies are withdrawn and properly-elected Governments function.

Among more recent visitors to Poland was Major Tufton Beamish, a Conservative member of the British Parliament. His account, in the *Daily Telegraph*, for February 25th and 26th, confirmed the reports from which I have already quoted. It ended as follows :—

> We have a duty to Poland to see that the terms of the Yalta Agreement are faithfully carried out. We can best provide a token of our good faith by initiating arrangements for an international commission to visit Poland at once to advise and assist the Provisional Government in the conduct of the forthcoming elections, and by making it abundantly clear that if the agreed terms on which the Provisional Government was recognized continue to be violated, recognition will be withdrawn.
>
> The future greatness of Poland is not in doubt. These deeply religious, cultured and intensely national people were our Allies from the first day of the war till the last. No nation has suffered more. It would be a tragedy that must not, that will not, happen if they should suffer still further from want of understanding, on the part of the United States and ourselves, of what is taking place.

JOHN MURRAY

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES was one of the best obituarists of his time. His obituary notices in the *Economic Journal* are perfect models of their kind. To attempt to write his obituary would excite such odious comparisons as would have been aroused if some friend of Plutarch's had published a life of the great biographer. To disarm such criticism, let it be stated at once that this short article pretends to be no more than an informal tribute to a great man by a sincere admirer. One justification for the inclusion of such a tribute in *Studies* is that Keynes helped to make the Finlay lecture in University College, Dublin, the great success it has become. When, in 1933, the Trustees of the Finlay Memorial Fund decided that the first annual lecture should be held, they resolved to get the most famous economist they could secure. Even then, Keynes occupied a position of acknowledged pre-eminence. We hardly hoped that he would accept our invitation But he did so and delivered a most brilliant lecture on " National Self-Sufficiency ".[1] In later years, the fact that we could state, in inviting other lecturers, that the first of the series had been given by Keynes enabled us to approach and secure many of the most distinguished economists from many countries. He gave the lecture a stature in the academic world that it would not otherwise have enjoyed.

Keynes arrived in Dublin on Easter Monday 1933 and was my guest for four days. I can say without any reservation that he was one of the most charming of men. He fell in perfectly with all our arrangements and never for one moment ceased to be agreeable. Yet one realized, in spite of his simple and unaffected manner, that he moved in the great world of affairs. One evening at dinner a trunk call from London came through for him. When he returned to the dining room he announced, with impressive solemnity, that the United States had gone off gold. One of his fellow-guests broke the awed silence which followed this announcement by asking whether the dollar was now likely to collapse. Keynes reply was simply " No, it isn't " ; but there was an undertone of impatience that almost amounted to the rudeness of which so much has been written in his obituary notices. He thought the question a stupid one and let us know it. Later in the evening he brought an interminable anecdote related by a longwinded narrator to an end with the most effective yawn I ever witnessed. He was no glad sufferer of fools or bores.

Ten years later I had some correspondence with Keynes that is worth quoting, because it shows his capacity for attending to small things while engaged in great affairs. However busy with public business, he had time to attend to matters of academic interest. In the summer of 1943 I was

[1] This lecture was published in *Studies*, vol. XXII, p. 177.

privileged, by the kind permission of the late Mr. F. E. Cairnes, to examine and edit a long correspondence between Professor J. E. Cairnes and John Stuart Mill which had been found in his house at Raheny.[1] In the box that contained these papers there was a parcel labelled " J. S. Mill, India House, Ricardo Manuscripts." Mr. C. K. Mill, who opened this parcel, wrote an account of its contents to Professor Hayek who was at the time editing J. S. Mill's correspondence. In addition to a number of manuscripts and political notes by Ricardo, the box contained some letters from Malthus to Ricardo and a series of letters from Ricardo to James Mill dated from 1819 to 1823. Professor Hayek showed this material to Lord Keynes (as he had then become) who, in spite of the fact that he was engaged on business of the utmost importance in the Treasury, threw himself into the matter with typical zeal. He at once wrote to Mr. Mill, the discoverer of the documents, suggesting that Mr. Sraffa, who was editing the definitive edition of the *Works and Letters of Ricardo*, should visit Dublin to examine the papers. On the same day he wrote to me a letter from which I extract the following passages. " As you may suppose, the news of the Ricardo-Mill correspondence is of the highest interest to us. We have in fact been searching vainly for it for years past. It now seems that by this accident it will be brought to light just in time, before we have finally gone to press with the great edition which the Royal Economic Society have long had in hand. We shall be eternally grateful to you if you can use your best offices with Mr. Mill, who obviously is much interested in historical matters of this kind and is likely—judging from his letter—to realize the significance of his remarkable find." In the course of further correspondence I commented on the curious coincidence that the long lost papers of James Boswell, which were discovered in Malahide Castle, and the missing letters of Ricardo should have come to light in two houses, not far apart, in County Dublin. Keynes replied : " You do not under-estimate the importance of this find in comparing it with the Malahide box. Mr. Sraffa has long maintained that important MSS are never destroyed in this country and can always be discovered if you hunt long enough. And here, in two cases, Malahide and Raheny have in due course come to the rescue."

This little episode illustrates Keynes's versatility, which was perhaps his most remarkable quality. He was interested in everything. If one were to inquire why his death excited so much interest among the general public, the correct answer would probably be that people are impressed by many-sidedness and versatility. It is difficult to enumerate all the spheres in which Keynes attained a position of eminence. As a theoretical economist he was admittedly in the very front rank. Earlier great economists have affected the course of public affairs indirectly and, often, after considerable delay by their influence on academic and, later, on public opinion.

[1] See *Economica*, November 1943, p. 273.

Keynes influenced British and American economic policy, in peace and war, by the influence of his opinions to a greater degree than any other modern economist. His capacity for persuasion and popularization was unusually great owing to his literary and polemical skill. But his influence was not only that of the academic advocate of policy. He was himself an administrator at the highest level, the trusted adviser of the British Treasury in two great wars. His experience of affairs was quite exceptional. He was a University lecturer, bursar of a great Cambridge College, a civil servant, a director of the Bank of England and other companies, and chairman of a large insurance company and an investment trust. He was, for many years, editor of the *Economic Journal*. He possessed great literary gifts. His description of the Versailles Peace Conference is famous. In all his books, passages of brilliant originality and humour are frequent. Even his official memoranda when he was a civil servant attracted attention because of their style. He was a wonderful public speaker. His speech in the House of Lords in defence of the Anglo-American Loan has been generally acclaimed as an outstanding piece of modern oratory. His interest in the arts was boundless. He was chairman of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts and of the Arts Council and a trustee of the National Gallery. He built, financed and opened the Arts Theatre at Cambridge. He was a bibliophile of note. Few men have led such full and useful lives.

Keynes's most enduring memorial will be his contribution to economic thought. The actual volume of his published work is not very great, but neither was that of Ricardo or Malthus with whom he can be compared as an influence on the thought of his time. *The Economist*[1] placed him in the foremost rank: "He was in the direct line of great British economists from Adam Smith to John Stuart Mill, making it his first business to study the facts and to see to it that his conclusions were consistent with common sense. But although he lay in the tradition he was a revolutionary. Not since Ricardo has economic theory leapt forward so swiftly as in the years that followed the appearance in the spring of 1930 of the *Treatise on Money* . . . . It will be with his name, as principal architect, that the reconditioning of economic theory in the past twenty-five years will always be associated." Keynes's first work in economics was related to the monetary problems of India. When he joined the Civil Service in 1906 he chose the India Office, because, among other reasons, the Indian currency was a live monetary issue which had been the subject of Royal Commissions and great controversies. In 1912 he published *Indian Currency and Finance*, which, according to a writer in *The Times*,[2] is regarded by "an austere school of thought" as his best book. In 1913-14 he served as a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance.

[1] April 27, 1946. [2] April 22, 1946.

Keynes was not known by the general public until after the first world war. As a protest against the reparations clauses of the Treaty of Versailles he resigned from the British delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. A few months later he published *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, which secured an immense popular success by reason of its brilliant description of personalities and its profound study of the problems connected with the collection of reparations from a defeated enemy—a problem still not satisfactorily solved. His action on this occasion aroused much hostile criticism. His book proved a useful weapon in the hands of those who wished to undermine the moral foundations of the Peace Treaties. On the immediate issue involved, reparations, his criticism of the Treaties is now admitted to have been well justified. Britain's return to the gold standard in 1925 provoked Keynes to publish his *Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill*. His opposition to this measure was based on the belief—afterwards proved correct—that the forcing of a fixed high exchange parity on the pound, in the conditions of wage rigidity then prevailing, would give rise to deflationary pressure resulting in large unemployment. Having witnessed the unpleasant consequences of a deflation, he was very anti-deflationary in sympathy. Continental economists on the other hand, having passed through the horrors of inflation, were suspicious of any policy that might have inflationary consequences. The burnt cat dreads the fire, but the half-drowned cat dreads a bucket of water.

Keynes's interest in unemployment led him to investigate the working of a modern economic system. The results of his inquiries were published in the *Treatise on Money* (1930) and in *The General Theory of Employment Interest and Money* (1936). Prior to the publication of the *Treatise* orthodox economics had been concerned with static conditions. The economic system was studied in terms of a stable equilibrium which, if disturbed, would tend to be restored. Keynes made the transition from statics to dynamics. He studied the flow of incomes and expenditure with the object of discovering why resources remain unused and why the national incomes, and therefore the national welfare, of modern communities are not as great as they would be in conditions of " full employment ". The novelty of the *Treatise* lay in the emphasis placed on the processes of saving and investment and in the demonstration that there is no necessary identity between the two. Economic instability arises when these two processes get out of step, and as each, namely the amount of saving and the amount of investment, is the result of the uncoordinated decisions of millions of different people, there is every reason to believe that they will generally diverge. If this diagnosis be correct, the remedy begins to become apparent. If the condition of stability is equality between saving and investment, the State must see to it that they converge. Central bank policy in relation to interest rates and the correct timing of public investment are two

obvious means of securing this result. These ideas were developed in the *General Theory* published six years later. This volume took its title from the suggestion that orthodox classical economic theory rested on certain assumptions, among others the assumption that the factors of production are fully employed, which have ceased to be true in modern times : " I shall argue that the postulates of the classical theory are applicable to a special case only and not to the general case, ... Moreover, the characteristics of the special case assumed by the classical theory happen not to be those of the economic society in which we actually live, with the result that its teaching is misleading and disastrous if we attempt to apply it to the facts of experience." Private enterprise to-day is incapable of securing conditions of full employment, which must therefore become a conscious aim of public policy. Public expenditure based on borrowing is no longer inflationary when large pools of resources are idle. The new theory necessitates a change in budgetary policy and a revision of the orthodoxies of nineteenth-century public finance.[1]

Keynes played a most important part in the economic and financial strategy of the second world war. His pamphlet *How to Pay for the War* published in 1940 urged the scheme of deferred credits which was afterwards adopted. He is reputed to have been mainly responsible for the establishment of the Central Statistical Office whose analyses of the sources of the war effort did so much to illumine the realities of war finance.[2] He was a consistent advocate of cheap money. He played the leading part in laying the foundations of a stable post-war monetary system. The first British proposal for an international monetary authority bore his name, the Keynes Plan. In 1944 he led the British delegation at the Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods, where an agreed plan was worked out for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. He was later appointed Governor of both these bodies. For three months in 1945 he acted as the chief British negotiator in the most difficult financial diplomacy in history, which resulted in the American Loan Agreement. Some of the contents of these agreements appear to conflict with Keynes's ideals as revealed in his published work. It is obvious that he had to compromise a great deal in order to achieve results. He was never dismayed by the charge of inconsistency to which he certainly left himself open. *The Economist*[3] commented : " Keynes the statesman took charge of Keynes the economist, and the paramount advantages of a comprehensive economic understanding with the still imperfectly Keynesian Americans led him, step by step, into the position of chief architect of the Bretton Woods system, which, whether it is good or bad, workable or not, is certainly full of

[1] Some of the financial implications of the Keynesian analysis are discussed in *New Views on Unemployment.* STUDIES vol. XXXIV, p. 53.

[2] See STUDIES, vol. XXXV, p. 25.

[3] April 27, 1946.

contradictions of Keynesian ideas." There is no question that the journeyings and labours associated with these conferences shortened his life. He was a martyr in the cause of building a better world.

Keynes's analysis of the causes of modern unemployment led him to the conclusion that private enterprise needs to be supplemented by public action if full employment is to be maintained. The volume of industrial activity can no longer be left to the free play of the forces of the market. The assumptions on which *laissez faire* had been reached are no longer valid. The foundations having weakened, the superstructure is no longer sound. There is no doubt that Keynes's doctrine involves an extension of the sphere of State interference in economic life. He has, on that account, been claimed as an advocate of a planned economy. He was nothing of the kind. Keynes proclaimed himself to be a liberal and an individualist. His desire for the maintenance of full employment by public action was based on a desire to preserve and not to destroy capitalism which, he believed, might not survive another major slump or prolonged chronic unemployment. He expressed his faith in individualism in the last chapter of his *General Theory*. The best method of explaining his views is to summarize this chapter. No apology is needed for the lengthy quotations. They allow Keynes to speak for himself and they illustrate, for the reader, the quality of his thought and style.

The chapter opens thus : " The outstanding faults of the economic society in which we live are its failure to provide for full employment and its arbitrary and inequitable distribution of wealth and incomes." Those faults can be remedied by State action. The maintenance of full employment forms the main theme of the book, but this is the first time that inequality of distribution is mentioned. Modern classical economists have favoured measures for the more equal distribution of the national wealth and income. The limiting factors on such measures have been stated to be the adverse effects of redistributive taxation on saving and investment and the consequent danger of a shortage of capital. The new analysis however, reveals that oversaving by the rich causes unemployment and that demand (the propensity to consume) and therefore investment may be stimulated by a more equal distribution. " Thus our argument leads towards the conclusion that in contemporary conditions the growth of wealth, so far from being dependent on the abstinence of the rich, as is commonly supposed, is more likely to be impeded by it. One of the chief social justifications of great inequality of wealth is, therefore, removed." The arguments in favour of a more equal distribution of wealth based on humanitarian and equitable grounds have been reinforced by a powerful new ally. A more equal distribution, it is now alleged, will stimulate investment

Keynes, however, was not an egalitarian. On this subject let him speak for himself :—

For my own part, I believe that there is social and psychological justification for significant inequalities of incomes and wealth, but not for such large disparities as exist to-day. There are valuable human activities which require the motive of money-making and the environment of private wealth-ownership for their full fruition. Moreover, dangerous human proclivities can be canalised into comparatively harmless channels by the existence of opportunities for money-making and private wealth, which, if they cannot be satisfied in this way, may find their outlet in cruelty, the reckless pursuit of personal power and authority, and other forms of self-aggrandisement. It is better that a man should tyrannise over his bank balance than over his fellow-citizens; and whilst the former is sometimes denounced as being but a means to the latter, sometimes at least it is an alternative. But it is not necessary for the stimulation of these activities and the satisfaction of these proclivities that the game should be played for such high stakes as at present. Much lower stakes will serve the purpose equally well, as soon as the players are accustomed to them. The task of transmuting human nature must not be confused with the task of managing it. Though in the ideal commonwealth men may have been taught or inspired or bred to take no interest in the stakes, it may still be wise and prudent statesmanship to allow the game to be played, subject to rules and limitations, so long as the average man, or even a significant section of the community, is in fact strongly addicted to the money-making passion.

Modern classical economic theory proclaims that the amount of saving depends upon the level of interest rates. The justification of interest is that it induces people to practise the virtue of thrift. If interest rates are lowered, too little saving will take place. Experience has proved that the greater part of the saving that takes place to-day is independent of the rate of interest. The volume of investment, on the other hand, is responsive to changes in the rate of interest. Low interest rates extend the margin of profitable investment. The maintenance of the rate of interest at a low level stimulates investment and should be the aim of monetary management until conditions of full employment are attained. The core of Keynesian economics is that low interest rates have a good effect on investment without any adverse repercussions on the volume of saving. The era of " cheap money " has arrived.[1] Keynes foresees, in modern conditions of accumulation, the possibility that the net rate of interest will be progressively reduced until " the return from the use of capital investments would have to cover little more than their exhaustion by wastage and obsolescence together with some margin to cover risk and the exercise of skill and judgment ". This process, if sufficiently extended, " would mean the euthanasia of the rentier and consequently the euthanasia of the cumulative oppressive power of the capitalist to exploit the scarcity value of capital . . . It will be possible for communal saving, through the agency of the State, to be maintained at a level which will allow the growth of capital up to the point when it ceases to be scarce." Keynes concludes this part of his argument as follows :—

I see, therefore, the rentier aspect of capitalism as a transitional phase which will disappear when it has done its work. And with the disappearance of its rentier

[1] See *Some Queries regarding Cheap Money*. STUDIES, vol. XXXIV, p. 483.

aspect much else in it besides will suffer a sea-change. It will be, moreover, a great advantage of the order of events which I am advocating, that the euthanasia of the rentier, of the functionless investor, will be nothing sudden, merely a gradual but prolonged continuance of what we have seen recently in Great Britain, and will need no revolution.

Thus we might aim in practice (there being nothing in this which is unattainable) at an increase in the volume of capital until it ceases to be scarce, so that the functionless investor will no longer receive a bonus; and at a scheme of direct taxation which allows the intelligence and determination and executive skill of the financier, the entrepreneur *et hoc genus omne* (who are certainly so fond of their craft that their labour could be obtained much cheaper than at present) to be harnessed to the service of the community on reasonable terms of reward.

This is certainly not a programme of socialism or even of planning. Keynes insists that all he advocates is the establishment of certain central controls affecting the propensities to consume, to save and to invest. He does not think that bank rate policy will be sufficient in itself to achieve the desired results. " I conceive therefore that a somewhat comprehensive socialization of investment will prove the only means of securing an approximation to full employment; though this need not exclude all manner of compromises and of devices by which public authority will co-operate with private initiative." He denies that there is any case for State socialism which simply changes the ownership of the instruments of production. He regards Fabian socialism as dated and outmoded. If the State can ensure the condition of full employment, the direction, as distinguished from the volume, of investment can be left to the guidance of the free pricing mechanism.

Moreover, the necessary measures of socialism can be introduced gradually and without a break in the general traditions of society.

Our criticism of the accepted classical theory of economics has consisted not so much in finding logical flaws in its analysis as in pointing out that its tacit assumptions are seldom or never satisfied, with the result that it cannot solve the economic problems of the actual world. But if our central controls succeed in establishing an aggregate volume of output corresponding to full employment as nearly as is practicable, the classical theory comes into its own again from this point onwards. If we suppose the volume of output to be given, *i.e.* to be determined by forces outside the classical scheme of thought, then there is no objection to be raised against the classical analysis of the manner in which private self-interest will determine what in particular is produced, in what proportions the factors of production will be combined to produce it, and how the value of the final produce will be distributed between them. . . . Thus, apart from the necessity of central controls to bring about an adjustment between the propensity to consume and the inducement to invest, there is no more reason to socialise economic life than there was before.

To put the point concretely, I see no reason to suppose that the existing system seriously misemploys the factors of production which are in use. There are, of course, errors of foresight; but these would not be avoided by centralising decisions. When 9,000,000 men are employed out of 10,000,000 willing and able to work, there is no evidence that the labour of these 9,000,000 men is misdirected. The complaint against the present system is not that these 9,000,000 men ought to be employed on different

tasks, but that tasks should be available for the remaining 1,000,000 men. It is in determining the volume, not the direction, of actual employment that the existing system has broken down.

To the student of modern classical economic theory there is nothing very revolutionary in Keynes's proposals. The Cambridge School, which is the accepted exponent of that theory, has never pretended that the free play of private self-interest maximizes the economic welfare of the community on all occasions. One of the most influential publications of that School is Professor Pigou's *Economics of Welfare*, which is devoted to a discussion of the cases in which there is a *prima facie* case for public interference in order to influence the size, the distribution and the stability of the national income. Pigou, true to the classical tradition, assumes full employment, and the only type of unemployment with which he deals is the cyclical unemployment associated with the trade cycle. What Keynes did was to demonstrate that the size of the national income will fall short of its potential maximum if measures are not adopted to stimulate and, if necessary, to supplement private consumption and private investment. It is of the essence of the Cambridge School's approach that the main reliance for production must remain on the private entrepreneur, and that the principal task of public intervention is to create an environment in which the forces of competition will work with socially beneficial results. Keynes insists that this is also his purpose. " I agree," he says, " that the result of filling in the gaps in the classical theory is not to dispose of the ' Manchester System,' but to indicate the nature of the environment which the free play of economic forces requires if it is to realize the full potentialities of production. The central controls necessary to ensure full employment will, of course, involve a large extension of the traditional functions of government. Furthermore the classical theory has itself called attention to various conditions in which the free play of economic forces may need to be curbed or guided. But there will still remain a wide field for the exercise of private initiative and responsibility. Within this field the traditional advantages of individualism will still hold good."

" The traditional advantages of individualism "—in what do they consist ? The answer must be given in Keynes's own words. The following passages contain the final profession of his political faith—an enlightened liberalism.

Let us stop for a moment to remind ourselves what these advantages are. They are partly advantages of efficiency—the advantages of decentralisation and of the play of self-interest. The advantage to efficiency of the decentralisation of decisions and of individual responsibility is even greater, perhaps, than the nineteenth century supposed ; and the reaction against the appeal to self-interest may have gone too far. But, above all, individualism, if it can be purged of its defects and its abuses, is the best safeguard of personal liberty in the sense that, compared with any other system, it greatly widens the field for the exercise of personal choice. It is also the best safeguard of the variety of life, which emerges precisely from this extended

field of personal choice, and the loss of which is the greatest of all the losses of the homogeneous or totalitarian state. For this variety preserves the traditions which embody the most secure and successful choices of former generations; it colours the present with the diversification of its fancy; and, being the handmaid of experiment as well as of tradition and of fancy, it is the most powerful instrument to better the future.

Whilst, therefore, the enlargement of the functions of government, involved in the task of adjusting to one another the propensity to consume and the inducement to invest, would seem to a nineteenth-century publicist or to a contemporary American financier to be a terrific encroachment on individualism, I defend it, on the contrary, both as the only practicable means of avoiding the destruction of existing economic forms in their entirety and as the condition of the successful functioning of individual initiative.

The authoritarian state systems of to-day seem to solve the problem of unemployment at the expense of efficiency and of freedom. It is certain that the world will not much longer tolerate the unemployment which, apart from brief intervals of excitement, is associated—and, in my opinion, inevitably associated—with presenday capitalistic individualism. But it may be possible by a right analysis of the problem to cure the disease whilst preserving efficiency and freedom.

If any excuse were needed for these lengthy quotations, it would be that they make Keynes's political position crystal clear. He was in no sense a socialist or a planner. His proposals for an extension of the economic functions of the State were justified on the ground that they would support the forces of individualism. His objection to socialism was based on political and aesthetic rather than on economic grounds. Doubtless a planned totalitarian State could pour forth a stream of pots and pans, boots and shoes, bread and butter and tanks and bombs quite as successfully as a capitalist society. But it would not ensure the freedom of the individual citizen, and no price is too high to pay for the preservation of freedom. Keynes wished to fulfil, not to destroy liberal individualist society. That this is not a mere personal judgment must appear from the foregoing quoted passages. It is corroborated by the opinions of those who wrote his obituary notices in the leading English papers. *The Times*[1] referred to him as " a great and liberal individualist who discerned, accepted and pursued the implications of a collective age " ; *The Economist*[2] stated that " economic policy remained for Keynes predominantly a matter for financial expedients; and the agents of policy to which he turned were financial agents—the Treasury and the Bank. This was not just because Keynes was a Treasury man. It was also because he was a liberal; because he believed that the objects which he proposed could be achieved with least damage to individual freedom and initiative by the over-all financial controls involved in banking and fiscal policy. He was no believer in detailed controls and restrictive centralization. On the contrary he believed it was possible to create conditions in which they were unnecessary. It is along these lines that the compromise will be found, if it is found

[1] April 22, 1946.
[2] April 27, 1946.

at all, between the desire for purposive direction of economic affairs and the eternal liberties of the unorganized individual." Mr. Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman*,[1] wrote: "Keynes was a liberal because he cared for individual liberty and because he found in liberalism a progressive and rational tradition. He detested the inefficiency of unregulated capitalism only less than he dreaded the waste and suffering of a proletarian revolution. The Keynesian theory of a managed currency and planned national and international housekeeping bore fruit in the American New Deal, in the war economies of the western democracies, in post-war credits, in Bretton Woods and the International Bank. He therefore made it his life's work to save capitalism by altering its nature. Capitalism owes its survival more to Roosevelt and Keynes than to any other men."

Those who classify Keynes as a socialist are gravely mistaken. His objection to socialism was primarily political. The liberty of the individual in earning and spending his income is a valuable right which men must struggle to preserve. This liberty is most surely attained in an individualist society, purged of its abuses. The main structure of capitalism must therefore be retained and its foundations strengthened. Keynes was a liberal in the English Whig tradition. He believed in liberty but not in equality. His social outlook was that of a cultivated aristocrat interested in things of the mind, a patron of the fine arts, *arbiter elegantiarum*. He regarded wealth, not as an end in itself, but as the means of leading a full and noble life. In spite of all the energy which he devoted to economics, he was in no sense a materialist. Indeed, his interest in economics arose from a certain impatience that the modern world, in spite of its great scientific and technical progress, should still have to pay so much attention to winning its daily bread. With the available resources and technique, he believed that the Western world was "capable of reducing the Economic Problem, which now absorbs our moral and material energies, to a position of secondary importance". It was his faith that "the day is not far off when the Economic Problem will take the back seat where it belongs, and that the arena of the heart and head will be occupied, or re-occupied, by our real problems—the problems of life and of human relations, of creation and behaviour and religion."

GEORGE O'BRIEN

[1] April 27, 1946.

MICHAEL DAVITT, 1846—1906

A SURVEY AND APPRECIATION*

BY PROFESSOR T. W. MOODY, F.T.C.D.

PART I: 1846-81

IT is one hundred years since Michael Davitt was born and just under forty years since he died. In his endless fight against oppression, in his devotion to truth and justice, in his courage, his constancy, and his disinterestedness, his stormy life has a unity and a moral grandeur seldom to be found in the annals of politics. Deeply marked by conflict and suffering, it is a life woven into the texture of Irish history during one of its most troubled epochs.

Davitt's career resolves itself into six phases :—(i) from his birth to his conviction for treason-felony in 1870, a phase in which a boyhood of privation and struggle leads to a young manhood of active participation in the Irish revolutionary movement ; (ii) 1870-77, years of penal servitude, during which Davitt excogitates a new policy for the movement, a policy of which the immediate objective is a national agitation against the landlord system in Ireland ; (iii) 1877-81, years of tense and concentrated political activity, when, with the cooperation of Parnell, Davitt's policy is put into effect and the whole Irish situation is transformed ; (iv) 1881-2, Davitt's second term of penal servitude, resulting directly from his success as an agitator, a phase in which he elaborates his ideas on land-nationalisation and other questions ; (v) 1882-90, in which he plays the part of free-lance beside Parnell, but finds his agrarian and social programme increasingly repugnant to the chief—a phase in which he strongly supports Parnell in the fight for home rule and in the great contest with *The Times*, but takes sides against him over the O'Shea divorce ; (vi) 1890-1906, the final phase, overshadowed by the Parnell split and marked by a widening of

* Based on two lectures delivered in the Mansion House, Dublin, on 25 March, and in University College, Cork, on 31 March, 1946, in connection with the Davitt centenary. Three works on Davitt's life have been published : (i) D. B. Cashman, *The life of Michael Davitt, founder of the Land League* (London and Glasgow [1882]), a eulogistic compilation, valuable only for the extracts from Davitt's speeches etc. down to 1882 which it quotes in abundance ; (ii) F. Sheehy Skeffington, *Michael Davitt, revolutionary, agitator, and labour leader* (London, 1908), a sincere, sensitive, and intelligent presentation, well-balanced and generally accurate, but strongly marked by its author's own pronounced opinions and written without access to Davitt's private papers ; (iii) M. M. O'Hara, *Chief and tribune : Parnell and Davitt* (Dublin and London, 1919), valuable for its critical comparisons and general interpretation, but based on printed sources only and stopping at 1891. I have drawn upon these and other printed books (including, of course, Davitt's own) and also on Davitt's private papers, on which I am working for the purpose of a new Life of Davitt.

the range of Davitt's sympathies and by manifold activity for Ireland and other good causes.

(i) 1846-70

Michael Davitt was the son of a peasant, Martin Davitt, who rented a few acres at Straide, near Castlebar, county Mayo. Michael was the second of five children, and the elder of two boys of whom the younger died in infancy. He was born during the agony of the great famine, in a year of death and desolation—the same year in which, in very different circumstances, Charles Stewart Parnell was born at Avondale. The Davitts survived the famine, but fell victims to the ' great clearances ' of the early 'fifties. The ' improving ' landlords of that time looked back upon the famine as an instrument of providence for ridding the country of much superfluous humanity. But the process was not considered to have gone far enough, and many landlords were now bent on clearing their estates of small tenants, as opportunity offered, in favour of more sheep and cattle. The tendency was most marked in Connacht, and especially in the counties of Mayo and Galway. About 1852 the Davitts went the way of many another Mayo family : falling into arrears of rent, they were evicted and turned out on the road. There being no alternative employment for Martin Davitt in Straide, he took the only self-respecting course : following the trail of friends and former neighbours, with infinite hardship he brought his family from Straide to the Lancashire cotton-manufacturing town of Haslingden. There they began a new and intensely toilsome life in exile.

In Haslingden the Davitts formed part of a small community of Irish emigrants who had known each other in Connacht and were now knit together in the closest of social ties. They lived on the edge of the town, in an isolated row of workingmen's houses, and they lived a life apart. It was not only kinship in language, religion, and traditions that united them but also the necessity of self-protection. To the sweated British worker the Irish immigrants were obnoxious as blacklegs, undercutting him in the labour market, besides being an object of religious and national prejudice. Often the Irish colony at Haslingden would have to defend itself against assault, and in such encounters Davitt distinguished himself from a very early age. Poor though they were, the Haslingden Irish had the advantage of a rich community-life. Davitt's father was their letter-writer and amateur schoolmaster. He carried on an evening school in his house, and to stimulate scholastic ambition among his heavy-handed, quarrymen pupils he offered prizes, mostly clay pipes. The highest prize—which was never won and, so Michael believed, was never intended to be won—was Archbishop McHale's Irish catechism. The domestic language of the community was Irish and some of the exiles could speak not a word of English. At their *ceilidhes*, which in winter were held once

or twice a week, there would be great story-telling around the fire, when young and old would be transported into the enchanting world of Connacht folklore And there would be singing and dancing of jig and reel. But sometimes the gaiety of these occasions was darkened by recollections of the great famine and the evictions ; and then there would be bitter anger and talk of revenge.

At the age of ten, Michael Davitt decided that he must no longer be a burden on his parents. Against their vehement opposition he found a job in a cotton mill, where he worked a twelve-hour day for half-a-crown a week. For two years he experienced the rigours of factory life at a time when state regulation of factories was negligible. One day his playmate, Sean Ginty, aged twelve, whom he had accompanied to the mill that morning, was caught in a revolving belt and killed. Michael saw him lying on the floor, dead, his blood spattered over the machinery. At the age of twelve Michael himself had his right arm so badly mangled between two cog-wheels that amputation just below the shoulder was necessary. That ended his career as a mill-hand, but the experience he had gained left an indelible impression on him. He had acquired a knowledge of English industrial conditions which made it impossible for him ever to forget that the English working-class, like the Irish peasantry, was the victim of oppression. His consuming hatred of England's domination of Ireland was never to involve hatred of Englishmen as such.

The loss of his right arm proved to be a turning-point in Davitt's life. He now received a further two years' schooling—at the local Wesleyan school, which was recommended by the parish priest as the best to be had in Haslingden. Here Davitt made rapid progress. From his Wesleyan schoolmaster, so he publicly declared in Haslingden many years afterwards, he never heard a single word that could hurt his feelings as a catholic. Davitt was always firmly attached to the faith of his fathers, but he never had any hesitation in working with men of a different faith, and he regarded religious diversity as in the nature of things.

At fourteen, Davitt obtained employment with the local postmaster, who also ran a printing-house. He soon earned a reputation for intelligence and resource, and, after learning the printing trade, was promoted to be book-keeper in the printing-house and assistant letter-carrier. His prospects were steadily improving when, at nineteen, Davitt took the fateful step of joining the Irish Republican (or Fenian) Brotherhood, the secret organisation which was preparing for a new attempt to win Irish independence by physical force. The constitutional agitation for independence had broken down with O'Connell, and the whole conception of an Irish party in parliament had been discredited in the 'fifties by the treachery of Sadleir and Keogh. The Fenian movement represented a reaction against the policy of bargaining with the enemy and a return to the revolutionary tradition of '98 and of '48. Fenianism spread rapidly

among the Irish of Great Britain and America as well as in Ireland, and it was natural that an ardent young Irishman of Michael Davitt's outlook should join the I.R.B., as he did in 1865.

For two years he continued to work in the printing-house at Haslingden. He took part in the abortive Fenian attempt to seize Chester castle (Feb. 1867), an escapade in which he showed his courage, coolness, and sense of responsibility. The rising in Ireland which followed, and to which the seizure of Chester castle was to have been a preliminary operation, was a complete fiasco (Mar. 1867); and with all the Fenian chiefs in prison or exile, the outlook for the movement seemed utterly hopeless. But it was at this time of defeat and despair that Davitt resigned his employment in the printing-house and threw all his energies into the revolutionary cause. He became organising secretary for the north of England and Scotland; and he worked with fierce determination to repair the breaches in the Fenian organisation and to send arms to Ireland. Such activity became the more dangerous when, in March 1869, Gladstone's government granted an amnesty to thirty-four of the imprisoned Fenians. After that, Fenians who were caught in preparations for rebellion could expect no mercy. Davitt's traffic in arms came under the notice of the police, and he was arrested in London in May 1870. He was indicted for treason-felony; and though the prosecution failed to bring conclusive proof that he actually was a Fenian, he was found guilty. His offence seemed to the court far blacker than it really was because a letter—the 'pen' letter—was produced which was taken to prove that he had contemplated assassination. He chose not to give any explanation of this letter, since to do so would have implicated a young fellow-conspirator. He paid for this point of honour by incurring an exceptionally severe sentence—fifteen years penal servitude. And he was to go on paying for his reticence on the subject of the 'pen' letter: accusations of complicity in assassination were intermittently to be flung at him by political enemies for the rest of his life.[1]

(ii) 1870-77

Davitt's seven years of penal servitude, spent largely in Dartmoor, were a time of acute mental and physical suffering bravely borne. That is nothing unique in the record of the Fenians. O'Leary, Kickham, Luby, O'Donovan Rossa, and Devoy underwent experiences in prison similar to Davitt's. But none of these was kept imprisoned so long or was so completely isolated in prison as Davitt. He was never allowed to see a visitor nor to enjoy the company of political prisoners like himself, and no consideration was shown for the fact that he was one-armed. But Davitt triumphed magnificently over the prison environment: he endured

[1] There is a detailed account of this matter in my article, 'Michael Davitt and the 'pen' letter', in *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. iv, no. 15 (Mar. 1945), pp. 225-53.

to the end without becoming embittered or desperate, without losing his sense of proportion or his hope for the future, and with no other intention than to renew the fight against England when he should be released.[1]

It was in Dartmoor that Davitt thought out the basis of a ' new departure ' in Irish politics. Pondering on the Irish problem, he reached the conclusion that the Fenian outlook and methods were inappropriate to the end in view. Secret conspiracy was unrealist and ineffectual. Public opinion was the greatest weapon of the weak in a fight for justice against the strong. Irish public opinion must be thoroughly roused and organized, and must be brought to bear on the public opinion of Great Britain. Fenianism was much too doctrinaire and exclusive for this purpose : it had no appeal for the great mass of the peasantry, preoccupied as they were with the struggle for bare existence. The demand for self-government must be coupled to a national crusade against that landlord system which was the fundamental curse of Irish life and the symbol of Ireland's servitude. To win the soil of Ireland for the people of Ireland was the surest means of undoing the conquest. Thirty years before, James Finlan Lalor had propounded just such a doctrine as Davitt had now arrived at independently.

While Davitt was thus laying down the principles of his future action in politics, his name was for the first time becoming widely known among his countrymen. An agitation for the release—and, pending that, the more humane treatment—of the remaining Fenian prisoners was in progress during the whole term of Davitt's imprisonment. It was headed in the early 'seventies by Isaac Butt, leader of the new home-rule movement, and it evoked a popular response such as had not been seen in Ireland since the days of O'Connell. Information about Davitt's circumstances, secretly conveyed out of Dartmoor, was given prominence at mass-meetings and in parliament. Gladstone and Disraeli successively were made aware that the obscure conspirator who had been convicted of treason-felony in 1870 was an object of deep and even passionate interest to Irishmen. It was a significant fact that after 1874 the amnesty campaign in parliament was carried on mainly by the obstructionist group among the home-rulers, and most notably by John O'Connor Power and Charles Stewart Parnell. Their pertinacious advocacy at last won over Gladstone himself and other English liberals to the side of amnesty (July 1877). Six months afterwards the Disraeli government yielded. On 19 December 1877, Davitt was released on ticket-of-leave, and, in the following January, returned to Ireland with three other released Fenians. They were welcomed as national heroes : Parnell and other home-rule M.P.'s were waiting on Kingstown pier to greet them, and the final stage of their homecoming was a triumphal progress through the streets of Dublin.

[1] I have dealt with this phase of Davitt's life in ' Michael Davitt in penal servitude, 1870-1877 ', in *Studies*, vol. xxx, no. 120 (Dec. 1941), pp. 517-30 ; vol. xxxi, no. 121 (Mar. 1942), pp. 16-30.

(iii) 1877-81

Davitt lost no time in renewing his Fenian contacts, and was elected to the supreme council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. For about a year he was feeling his way towards the launching of the ' new departure ' of which he had been dreaming in prison. Parnell now stood out as the most combative exponent of national claims that the British parliament had ever seen. He had deliberately sought and had won support among Fenians and other extreme nationalists to whom Butt and his kid-glove methods seemed hopeless. On 1 September 1877 Parnell had been elected president of the home-rule confederation of Great Britain—a body in which Fenians had a dominant influence—in Butt's place. By the time Davitt emerged from Dartmoor it was obvious that Parnell was heading straight for the leadership of the home-rule party and that he had a strong Fenian backing. But there was a cleavage within the Fenian body over the latter development, and a majority of the supreme council of the I.R.B. condemned it. The minority had included O'Connor Power and Joseph Biggar, who had entered parliament and were Parnell's foremost supporters in obstruction. These two, along with Patrick Egan and John Barry, had been expelled from the council just before Davitt's release for favouring a policy of parallel action between the revolutionary and constitutional movements. There was similar disagreement among the Fenians in America, now organised in the Clan-na-Gael. The most forceful and clear-headed personality among them, John Devoy, was anxious to try the experiment of backing Parnell, and had some realisation of the use that might be made of the land question in winning over the peasantry to the cause of independence. Among Irish-Americans, hatred of the landlord system, which to many of them was the cause of their exile, was almost as strong, and was much more vociferous, than among the Irish at home.

Davitt's first move was to try to bring Parnell into the I.R.B. Parnell absolutely refused to consider this, but seemed impressed by Davitt's sketch of an ' open movement on constitutional lines ' involving both parliamentary action and popular agitation for a radical settlement of the land question—a movement that should be made to appeal to ' all men of separatist principles ', whether of the physical-force or moral-force persuasion (May 1878). Davitt also discussed his plan with two leading Fenians of Dublin, Patrick Egan (who, as already mentioned, had been expelled from the supreme council of the I.R.B.) and Thomas Brennan ; and these two, who were presently to become key-men in the Land League, agreed to support him. Soon afterwards he went to America to visit his family, which he had induced to move to Pennsylvania just before his arrest in 1870. This visit inevitably assumed a political character. In a series of lectures at Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Cleveland, Boston, and other centres he outlined his plan before Irish-Americans and found in Devoy a valuable ally in gaining acceptance for it among the advanced nationalists.

This first visit of Davitt's to the U.S.A. won him a high reputation as a public speaker and laid the basis of his great and enduring influence among Irish-Americans. He returned to Ireland in December 1878 resolved to press on with his new policy.

The spring of 1879 was peculiarly opportune for opening a campaign against landlordism. Two successive bad harvests (1877 and 1878) and a serious fall in agricultural prices had produced an accumulation of distress unparalleled since the great famine. Innumerable small farmers stood on the verge of ruin. The winter of 1878-9 was one of the wettest and coldest on record, and anxiety grew among the peasantry as the outlook for the next harvest worsened. For many of them the rents which had been fixed at a time of rising prices had become an intolerable burden. Would the peasantry as a whole resign themselves to this situation, as they had done in the great famine, or would they respond to a call for organised resistance to excessive rent? Davitt decided that they would do the latter and that therefore the time had come for initiating his contemplated agitation. He first tried to persuade the supreme council of the I.R.B. to endorse the ' new departure '. The matter was debated at a meeting of the council, held in Paris in January 1879, at which Charles Kickham, John O'Leary, Davitt, Devoy and others were present. Kickham and O'Leary were inflexibly opposed both to agrarian agitation and to parliamentarism, and under their influence the council refused to countenance the ' new departure '—though, as a compromise, it agreed to leave individual Fenians free to participate in the open agitation. This decision proved to be the parting of the ways for Davitt: he presently ceased to have any connection with the Fenian body, though never abandoning the Fenian ideal of an independent Irish republic. A year after the Paris meeting, the supreme council revoked the option it had allowed to individual Fenians and thereby prohibited them from taking part in the Land League. But the Fenian rank and file, who had followed Davitt's lead, largely disregarded this interdict.

After a personal investigation of conditions in the west and with the help mainly of local Fenians and ex-Fenians, Davitt launched the agrarian campaign by organising a demonstration at Irishtown, county Mayo on 20 April 1879. This was directed against Canon Geoffrey Burke, who had threatened to evict all the tenants of an estate nearby unless they paid their arrears forthwith. The meeting was attended by some 7,000 people, the grievances of Canon Burke's tenants were ventilated, and resolutions (drafted by Davitt) were passed demanding the abolition of landlordism and the immediate lowering of rents by local landlords. Before this menacing expression of public feeling Canon Burke gave way, reducing his rents by one quarter. The Irishtown affair was the spark that set the west ablaze. At a second and larger demonstration held at Westport in June, Parnell himself was present, at Davitt's instigation, and made a

speech which contained the magnetic phrase ' Hold a firm grip on your homesteads '. From this point, men of various shades of nationalism began to rally to the agitation. Davitt hastened to canalise their support by forming, on 18 August 1879, the Land League of Mayo, the objects of which were : (*a*) to use ' every means compatible with justice, morality and right reason ', which should ' not clash defiantly with the constitution ', to replace the existing landlord system with one ' in accord with the social rights and interests of our people ' ; (*b*) pending a satisfactory settlement of the land question, to expose the injustices of the tenants and to protect them against their landlords. Money was soon forthcoming from America to help the Mayo agitation, which quickly spread over the country.

Davitt had now two immediate aims : (i) to expand the Mayo Land League into a national organisation ; (ii) to win Parnell's participation in the new national body. Prepared in the last resort to proceed without Parnell, Davitt succeeded at last in overcoming Parnell's reluctance. Parnell made no alliance or compact with the revolutionary movement, but he accepted the presidency of the Irish National Land League, formed in Dublin on 21 October 1879, on condition that its programme should be such as could be advocated in parliament. On the other hand, as a concession to extremist views and especially those of Irish Americans, whose financial backing was indespensable, Parnell had to agree that the funds of the league should not be used for furthering the interests of parliamentary candidates. The importance of Parnell's adhesion to the Land League can hardly be over-emphasised. The two most dynamic men in Ireland and the two strongest popular movements that Ireland had witnessed since O'Connell's day now came together on the land issue. The partnership of Davitt and Parnell in the gigantic struggle of the next two years was essential to the success of the agitation. While Parnell was superb as the leader to whom all sections of national opinion rendered allegiance and who gave the agitation the character of a united front against the national enemy, Davitt was the inspiring genius and principal organiser of the league, directing and coordinating its operations from the centre and yet finding time to travel up and down the country and personally take part in the fight.

The hard core of the league consisted of Fenians and ex-Fenians : in the national executive were Davitt and Brennan (hon. secretaries), Egan and Biggar (treasurers), and Matthew Harris, while scattered over the country less-known Fenians held key-positions in the local branches. The league's objects were more explicitly defined than those of the Mayo league—' to bring about a reduction of rack-rents ' and ' to facilitate the obtaining of the ownership of the soil by the occupiers '. National ownership of the land had been part of Davitt's original scheme as first mooted in America. Though he had not yet elaborated his ideas on land

nationalisation, he saw that they would stand no chance of general acceptance in Ireland. It was characteristic of Davitt that, while never abandoning his belief in national ownership, he was prepared to throw his best energies into the fight for a settlement of the land problem much less radical than his own but demanded by the overwhelming majority of the tenants.

The summer of 1879 was the worst since 1848. The potato crop failed disastrously. Half the population of the west was beggared. A catastrophe comparable to the great famine was only averted through the efforts of voluntary relief-organisations and the donations of private charity that poured in to them from all over the English-speaking world and beyond. But landlords insisted on their rents ; eviction-notices fell like snowflakes on peasantry facing starvation. The Land League acted as an instrument of relief, but its main purpose was to organise resistance to the landlords. An elaborate technique of moral-force warfare was developed : process-serving operations and evictions were made the occasion of great popular demonstrations ; families evicted for non-payment of excessive rents were sheltered and supported ; the terrible weapon of social ostracism, now first named the boycott, was developed as the league's ultimate sanction against both tenants and landlords who violated its code ; persons involved in prosecutions as a result of their league activities were defended ; and the families of persons sent to prison were cared for. Money for implementing this programme came freely from America, where Parnell and John Dillon—one of the earliest recruits of the initial movement in the west and an agitator of unsurpassed courage and conviction—conducted a rattling propaganda-campaign early in 1880. This Parnell-Dillon mission consolidated Irish-American support for the ' new departure ' and prepared the ground for an auxiliary land league in the U.S.A. and Canada. Auxiliary movements were also started in Australia and New Zealand.

The Land League combined in one great organisation nationalists of many different schools, constitutional and revolutionary, and some men who were not nationalists at all. Fenians joined in large numbers—and some of them did so not with the intention of honestly operating its programme but of using the league to promote their own. Moreover the passions that were inevitably roused by the agitation tended to spill over into violence and outrage. The leaders, though in the heat of combat their speeches were apt to assume a highly inflammatory tone, endeavoured to check agrarian crime. In the task of reprobating physical, and inculcating moral, force, Davitt was the most conspicuous of the Land League chiefs, and the most successful. In this connection the league had a powerful auxiliary in the many catholic clergy who adhered to it. Unlike the I.R.B.—which, as a secret society, was wholly condemned by the church—the Land League did not fall under the church's ban. Though individual prelates, such as Archbishop McHale of Tuam and Archbishop

McCabe of Dublin, denounced the league, others such as Archbishop Croke of Cashel, Bishop Duggan of Clonfert, and Bishop Nulty of Meath strongly and boldly supported it and thus encouraged their clergy to do so. One of the most picturesque and successful exponents of passive resistance in the land war was Fr. John O'Malley, parish priest of the Neale, county Mayo, who played a prominent part in the ostracising of Captain Charles Boycott and first suggested the use of Boycott's name to describe the process of which he was so notorious a victim.

Faced with one of the gravest crises in Irish history, the government in office, that of Disraeli, proved quite ineffectual. A general election in April 1880 brought the liberals back to power under Gladstone. In Ireland the election was fought on the land issue : with the Land League backing him, Parnell won his first electoral triumph and became the chosen head of the Irish parliamentary party. Gladstone was contemplating a far-reaching measure of land-reform, but decided that the power of the league must first be broken. The league took up the challenge. The harvest of 1880 was excellent, but many tenants were in arrears for the three preceding years. The landlords, apprehensive of Gladstone's intentions, redoubled their efforts to evict defaulting tenants. The struggle became horribly embittered. Agrarian crime multiplied as extreme coercion, directed by W. E. Forster, the new chief secretary for Ireland, became the order of the day.

Davitt was the first of the Land League chiefs to be arrested. After the general election he had gone to America to assist Dillon in organising an American land league. In this the two men, now close friends, were highly successful, as also in raising money for the movement in Ireland. Davitt, in addition, formed a ladies' land league in America, a project first suggested by Parnell's sister, Fanny. Returning home in November 1880, he succeeded, despite opposition from Parnell, in forming a Ladies' Land League of Ireland as a reserve in case the main league should be suppressed. He was much disturbed to see how the agitation was being discredited by acts of outrage and revenge, and he did not spare himself in travelling over the country and admonishing the peasantry to abandon the old evil ways of agrarian crime and rely on moral force alone. It was at this time also that he began a Land League campaign among the Ulster protestants, whom he hoped to bring into the general movement. At Kinnego, county Armagh, he addressed a large assembly mainly of protestant farmers, with the grand master of the local Orange lodge in the chair (Jan. 1881). His appeal for solidarity on the land question was well received, to his great delight, and he was contemplating a whole series of meetings in Ulster when all such plans were interrupted—fatally, as it proved—by his arrest on February 3.

T. W. Moody

(To be continued.)

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MACKENNA, S.J.

LXXVIII

To Aodh † 1333 (son of Domhnall Óg son of Domhnall Mór son of Éigneachán) Ó Domhnaill. In stt. 13-4 his maternal ancestry is given ; his grandmother was Lasairfhíona (wife of Domhnall Mór Ó Domhnaill) who was daughter of (Cathal Croibhdhearg Ó Conchobhair and) Mór " Mumhan " who was daughter of (Domhnall Mór Ó Briain and) Aráille who was daughter of Diarmuid Mac Murchadha.

GIOLLA BRIGHDE MAC CON MIDHE cc

1. Táinig tairrngire na n-éarlamh
d'uaislibh Fódla feirrde dháibh ;
ní cian go bhfóirthir a bhformad,
fóirfir ar fhiadh fonnbhog Fáil.

2. Ámharas ar fhad [gé tháinig]
ar dhá dtrian ar thairrngir siad
briathra na gcéadbhuileadh gcreidimh
nír bréagnuigheadh eidir iad.

3. Nír chreid Dá Thí ar thairrngir Finnéan
Fódla ag Gallaibh, gníomh nar cheil ;
Goill do theacht i ngoire Ghaoidheal
reacht oile nar saoileadh sein.

4. Bearchán tresan mbuile n-oirrdhearc
do innis thall—truagh an fras—
tuir do ghaoineadh re taobh Teamhrach
do sgaoileadh Aodh Eangach as.

5. Tú Aodh Eangach innse Gaoidheal
ghéabhas Eirinn, ard a nós ;
mar táid Gaoidhil re gairm th'anma
faoilidh ret ainm Banbha bhós.

6. As tusa ro thairrngir Bearchán
san mbuile tre bhriathraibh Dé ;
tú do gheall béal Colaim Chille
fa tréan orainn ime é.

7. Comhghall Beannchair Baoithín Airtigh
got urfhógra, a fholt na lúb ;
ní beacht leam a Aodh got fhógra
naomh nachar gheall Fódla fúd.

8. Aithreamhail ar n-éirghe i mochthráth
mullach do chinn 's as cás th'fholt ;
ní tearc id chlóbharr chiabh mbuidhe,
niamh na mónann uile ort.

9. Ceinéal Conaill cúigeadh Almhan
uaisle Connacht fad chéibh thigh,
ríoghradh cheannghas ar lógh laoidhe ;
eanghlas as lór saoire sin.

10. Uaisle Mumhan, maithe Connacht,
cuiscreach glan fad ghruadh mar shuibh,
clanna Briain ó fhionnMhuigh Áine
's ó Chliaigh iobhraigh Mháighe a-muigh.

11. As eanghlas mheadha i measg fhíona
eanghlas Chonnacht tre chlainn Néill ;
risin druingsin gibé bheanas
do fhoillsigh sé a bhfeabhas féin.

12. Meic Mhurchadha mílidh Fhódla
umat móide mhillfe tír ;
na sluaigh a-neas ó Nás Laighean
nír fhás teas acht daighfhear dhíbh.

13. Lasair-fhíona inghean Chathail
Chroibhdheirg ar do chúl a-tá,
bean nar tubhadh glór dar ghnáthaigh
Mór Mhumhan máthair na mná.

14. Inghean Mheic Mhurchadha máthair
Móire Mumhan fa mhall troigh
a bhláth ag nach buan an sneachta
dual do chách teachta dod thoigh.

15. Fa Almhain budh eolach romhat
ríoghradh Chualann na gcorn mbreac,
urlamh bheanaid ris na bailibh
cungnamh dhleaghaid Laighin leat.

16. Fir Mhumhan do mhóradh Ghaoidheal
geabhaid leat an lá bhus teo ;
tiocfa go Lios Macha is Muimhnigh
is racha d'fhios Luimnigh leo.

17. Uime as treise tugsat Gaoidhil
grádh coitcheann dod chneas mar aol,
do chaidribh deanas do dhuine
feabhas th'aignidh uile, a Aodh.

18. Ní aithéana a Aodh Uí Dhomhnaill
díot mo riar dá rus id phort,
as fada ón ór fhallsa th'anáir,
lór dhamhsa dom fharáil ort.

19. IonChuinn ordughad do ríghe
a rí súlghorm Sléibhe Fuaid ;
dod chomharthaibh a í Chathail
somharthain an achaidh uaid.

20. Talamh fairrge ag fearthain fháilte,
éasga is grian red ghruadh mar rós,
neoill na firminnte got fhógra
finnlinnte na Fódla fós.

21. Iongnadh ó uisgeadhaibh Fódla
fáilte uí Chonaill ó Charn Fhraoich ;
as beag nach balbh gach sruth sléibhe
do mharbh bruth na gréine an ghaoith.

22. Gach doire ag deargadh a chaorthann,
coill ag sléachtain re sín mbailbh,
na cuill na droighin na dreasa
ó bhroinigh thruim mheasa ag maidhm.

23. A-tá ar gcromadh gach craobh dharach
do dhluigh cnuas gach coill nar leag ;
a-tá ar mbloghadh barr gach abhla
toradh crann mBanbha ní beag.

24. Gach fiodh glas re gréin an fhoghmhair
d'fheadhaibh Banbha dan binn th'ainm
iomdha a dairghibh arda an fheadha
balga a bhfaidhnibh meadha ag maidhm.

25. Ag do ríoghadh a rí Fódla
feirrde Banbha an biseach rug ;
badh leat seoid chraoi theallaigh Thuathail
gnaoi ar cheallaibh 's ar thuathaibh tug.

26. Budh leat Muimhnigh i measg Connacht
im chúirtibh clach cleachtaid gleo ;
do-bheir duinne i ndath na nglaschloch
clach na buinne lasrach leo.

27. Leat Conall is cungnamh Gaoidheal
Goill it aghaidh aithnidh daoibh,
drud ort re himreasain nGallda
olc d'fhinnleasaibh arda aoil.

28. Do badh é gliocas Gall Éireann
iarraidh do shíthe ó sho a-mach,
ar mbuain re hAllmhurchaibh fhúicfe
n-a ndamhdhabhchaibh cúirte clach.

29. Cionnus chaiseonus cíos Gaoidheal
Goill do léim ní lag an snaidhm
gan (láimh) ort, a Aodh Í Dhomhnaill,
ná taobh tocht a horlainn airm.

30. A Aodh í Eigneacháin Uisnigh
urchar it lurg ní lamh tóir ;
ní fhéach oraibh cách do chnocaibh,
sgáth romhaibh ní docair dhóibh.

31. Mór anucht aidhbhseach a lúirigh
lorg an ghaoi nach gabhdais uird ;
iongnadh linn líne do chleithe
míne a cinn as leithe a luirg.

32. Is tú as treise thairngeas bogha
dá mbí i ndeabhaidh re dail fras :
do chrann ar n-a bhéin id bhiodhbhaidh
ní léir barr a fhiodhraidh as.

33. A Aodh mhac Domhnaill Í Dhomhnaill
déana longphort ós Loch Rí
do ríghe i n-a síodh ní seachbhaidh
díon na síne ar fhearthain hí.
Tainig.

TRANSLATION

1. The prophecy of the saints about Fódla's nobles has come true—'tis for their advantage ; soon shall be healed their jealousies ; the soft-earthed land of Fál will be saved.

2. The words of the first revelations of the Faith have not been shown to be false though two-thirds of their prophecying was called in doubt.

3. Dá Thí believed not what Finnéan foretold and made no attempt to conceal, namely that Fódla would be held by the Goill; that the Goill should even come near the Gaoidhil was another ordinance (of God) never expected.

4. Bearchán in that famous trance . . . . (?)

5. Thou art the Aodh Eanghach of the Isle of the Gaoidhil who is to possess Éire—great his glory!; as the Gaoidhil keep calling thy name, Banbha rejoices still to hear it.

6. 'Tis thou whom Bearchán foretold in the vision, using God's words; 'tis thou whom the mouth of Colam Cille promised; deeply therefore has this affected us.

7. Comhghall of Beannchar, Baoithín of Airteach heralded thee, O curly hair; I can tell of no saint, O Aodh, who did not proclaim thee and promise that Fódla would be thine.

8. From early times thy head is like thy father's, and curly is thy hair; on thy shapely head with its golden tresses is many a gleam as of bogberries.

9. Conall's race, the Province of Almha and the nobles of Connachta, all chieftains who buy poems at good price, are in the genealogy of thee, O thick-tressed hero; noble enough surely that medley.

10. Mumha's nobles, Connachta's heroes, famous . . . .? the races of Brian from fair Magh Áine and from wooded Cliu Máighe, are thy ancestors, O berry-bright cheek.

11. A mingling of mead with wine is the mingling of Connachta with the race of Niall; he who belongs to that stock has ever displayed their excellences.

12. The sons of Murchadh, those soldiers of Fódla, are in thy ancestry—the better canst thou harry a land!; those warriors from Nás Laighean in the South—none but goodly heroes sprang from them.

13. Lasair-fhíona, daughter of Cathal Croibhdhearg, is in thy ancestral line, a lady whose word was never gainsaid; Mór of Mumha was her mother.

14. The daughter of Mac Murchadha was mother of stately Mór of Mumha; O lovely lady near whose warmth snow quickly melts, 'tis the duty of all to submit to thee.

15. The princes of Cuala of the speckled horn-cups waiting for thee around Almha will guide thee; easily can they find the way to any district; such is the help the Laighin are bound to give thee.

16. For the glory of the Gaoidhil the men of Mumha will join thee when the fray is hottest; with the Muimhnigh thou shalt go to Lios Macha and to Luimneach too.

17. What increases the constant love which the Gaoidhil feel for thee, O lime-white skin, is the high quality of thy friendship for each man and the excellence of thy whole character, O Aodh.

18. Thou shalt never realise, O Aodh Ó Domhnaill, to what extent I was led by thee when in thy house to be convinced of this, viz. that honour bestowed by thee is (in value) far beyond deceitful gold; 'twill be enough for me to commend myself to thee.

19. Thou wert like Conn in ruling thy realm, O blue-eyed chief of Sliabh Fuaid; thy bringing of good fortune to the land is one of the signs that distinguish thee, O scion of Cathal.

20. The earth, the sea, the moon, the sun, all welcome thy rosy cheek; the clouds of the firmament acclaim thee and Fodla's bright lakes too.

21. Wondrous the welcome of Fódla's waters to the scion of Conall of Carn Fraoich; almost noiseless flows each mountain-stream, the sun's heat has deadened the wind.

22. Every wood displays the red of its rowan-trees, and the grove bends neath the hushed wind ; hazel-trees, sloe-trees, thorn-bushes are all bursting with heavy frontage of fruit.

23. Every oak-branch is weighed down, the nuts which the hazel-tree has not shed on the earth are split, the crown of each apple-tree is in blossom ; plenteous the fruit of the trees of Banbha.

24. All the trees of Banbha's woods—they make folk love thy name !—many now are the kernels bursting in their mead-moist shells beneath the Autumn sun as they fall from the lofty oaks of the wood.

25. Blessed is Banbha for the benefit she got by thy crowning, O King of Fódla ; with thee came the heirlooms of the Hearth of Tuathal which have brought favour on church and laity.

26. Thou didst cause the Muimhnigh to mingle with Connachta, they are constantly battling loudly around the stone-castles ; the stone (in the castle-walls) turned into a stream of flames leaves, owing to those flames, a dark stain on the blue stones.

27. With thee are Conall's race and the Gaoidhil in support, and against thee, thou seest are the Goill ; to injure any fair lime-white castle tends to bring on thee a conflict with the Goill.

28. 'Twill be the tricky policy of the Goill of Éire in future to seek peace with thee ; (but) after any dealings with the Foreigners thou shalt end up by having stone-castles as monsters (oppressing the land).

29. How can the Gaoidheal make sure of his cess ? By attacking the Goill—no slight task ! Venture not, O Aodh Ó Domhnaill, to go forth from a fortified place unattended (?).

30. No troop dares to track and attack thee, O Aodh scion of Éigneachán of Uisneach ; the foes from the hills think not of attacking thee ; to be afraid of thee is natural for them !

31. Terrible is a serious flaw in one's armour, which (smiths') hammers did not deal with, (a flaw) which would be entrance-place for a shaft ; we marvel at the length (?) of thy spear, the smoothness of its point and the thickness of its handle.

32. Of all who in battle pour forth showers of arrows thou art the strongest at drawing the bow ; when thy shaft has pierced thy foe, the end of its wood can not be seen projecting.

33. O Aodh son of Domhnall Ó Domhnaill, establish a fort over Loch Rí ; 'tis a lucky thing that thy realm is a fairy-mound, it prevents the weather from raining.

NOTES

MSS. : B iv 2, 92 (B) ; Rawlinson B 514, f. 68v (Irish Texts ii 68) (R). Text is mainly B with any notable variants from R. 1*b*. uaisli R 2*a*. fa fhad R, go ttai. B, co tai R *c*. creididh BR 3*c*. ga. B 4*c*. ga. BR 7*a*. Airthir R *c*. *not in* B *d*. nar B 8*c*. bhui. R 10*b*. glas R 11*b*. tre chrich B 13*a*. Laisir B *c*. gl. nar *vel* dar R 14*a*. meig mu. B 16*c*. -fuid B 17*a*. *vel* mo B *cd*. *cf*. *IGT l*. 1017 18*a*. -then R *c*. maghail *vel* hanair R 21*b*. fra. BR *d*. gaeith R, gaoith *vel* ghaoth B 22*d*. me. BR 24*c*. dairghe R *d*. faidhne mela R 26*b*. chl. R 27*a*. conaill B, ag cung. R *c*. druid BR 28*a*. dobhere gl. R 29*c*. beim R, laimh *indistinct* B 31*a*. aibhs. BR 32*a*. badha B 33*c*. -mhaidh BR

JEREMIAH J. CALLANAN

BY B. G. MACCARTHY

University College, Cork

Part I: His Life

BIOGRAPHY is based on interpretation of evidence. It is the meeting-place of the biographer and his subject. The more abundant and clear-cut the evidence, the less the interpretative task—the less also the latitude for cogitation and surmise. There are lives which appear to have only the characteristics of water. They are colourless, shapeless, fluid, incalculable. They lack the distinctive aroma of personality, and yet they emphatically differ from others. However incomprehensible their behaviour, they move in obedience to some inherent law. Such a man was J. J. Callanan.

When one considers the events of Callanan's life, one can find no design for living. When one considers his works, one finds two divergent trends. Nowhere is there any decisive attitude, either human or artistic. This instability was not the instability of revolt. It may be dismissed as merely the instability of weakness or of " the artistic temperament ". Labels explain nothing. Seek to discover and weigh the constituents of such a nature, to find the motive force—and the problem remains.

The external facts of Callanan's life offer little that is conclusive. Sources differ even as to his Christian names. His usual signature was J. J. Callanan. These initials have been variously interpreted as James Joseph,[1] Jeremiah John,[2] and Jeremiah Joseph.[3] It is certain, at any rate, that his name was Jeremiah[4] and that he was known as " Jerry " to his friends.

The biographer of Callanan soon finds himself entangled in a net of difficulties and ambiguities. It is not merely that Callanan's character may be variously regarded, but that the available sources of information flatly contradict each other even as to the most salient events and the most important dates. A great aid to decision between rival statements is the first part of the unpublished Life of Callanan written by the Rev.

[1] Allibone, *Dictionary*; Webb, *Compendium*; Read, *Cabinet of Irish Literature*; Spalding, *Irish Minstrelsy*.

[2] Richard Garnett in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[3] D. J. O'Donoghue in *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, Jan. 13, 1890; also *The Poets of Ireland* (1912); J. Windele: *Notices of the City of Cork*; Brit. Museum Cat.; J. O'Mahony in *Cork Archæolog. Jour.* (vol. i, 1892); also anonymous note on burial place of Callanan given in *Cork Archæolog. Jour.* (vol. i, 1934).

[4] Father O'Riordan's MS. account of Callanan's life bears on the inside cover the words: " Life of the late Jerh. J. Callanan." The anonymous Memoir prefixed to the 1861 ed. of Callanan's poems records that one of the schoolmasters who had taught Callanan stated that he had always foreseen " Jerry's future greatness ". There still lingers in Cork an oral tradition that Callanan's name was Jerry.

Patrick O'Riordan. This MS. is in the possession of Mr. Michael Holland of Cork, who by generously granting access to it has made it possible to clarify some doubtful points and to cast new light on aspects hitherto unknown. Father O'Riordan's Life of Callanan is merely a rough draft, and therefore it omits much that would have appeared in a finished work. It is apparent that he had at hand many letters concerning Callanan which he intended to quote in the final version, but which unfortunately he did not think it worth while to copy into this preliminary outline. Even when dealing with Callanan's earlier life, there are a number of details which he fails to state. The second part of the Life shows him at a loss for facts. This gap he fills in with a vague general statement and a suggested order of events which he groups around a date which is demonstrably incorrect. For some aspects of the earlier life, therefore, and for most of the later life one must rely on other writers. Weaving a devious way between all the available sources, one can only try to reconcile the contradictions and to interpret the evidence as best one may.

Callanan was born, in the year 1795, in Cork city or county,[1] perhaps at Ballinhassig.[2] He was the only son and the eldest child of his parents. From the moment of his birth his father, in gratitude to God, dedicated him to the priesthood. This decision, which naturally could not take effect without the boy's active co-operation, was to set on foot a train of circumstances which ceased only with Callanan's life.

As a child, Callanan showed many traits which were to become his abiding characteristics. He was shy, affectionate, over-sensitive, diffident, utterly free from guile. But the little Jerry Callanan was gay. Not so the struggling man of later years. Looking back then, as at another being, he wonders at that boyhood " wayward, warm and wild ". His early education he obtained at a school kept by a Mr. O'Sullivan at Sullivan's Quay. Later he went to Reddington Academy on Great Island, Cove. This boarding school, directed by Father Harrington, numbered Daniel O'Connell amongst its alumni. During the period when Callanan was resident Father Harrington died. Callanan then continued his schooling in the house of a Mr. Doud, who had been one of his teachers at the Reddington Academy.

Callanan had grown up with the knowledge that his father wished him to be a priest. His studies had been directed to that end. Each year brought him nearer to the moment when at last he would enter Maynooth. His own wish in this matter had never been consulted. His father had simply assumed that, since the priesthood was a sacred profession, his son could not fail to share his own intention. Young Callanan had never expressed any opposition to the plan. It may be suggested that he was

[1] D. J. O'Donoghue, Allibone, Webb, Read, Garnett simply say that Callanan was born in Cork. Windele and M. F. McCarthy say that Callanan was born in Cork city. Fr. O'Riordan omits to mention the place of birth.

[2] J. O'Mahony in *Cork Archæol. Jour.* (vol. i, 1892).

secretly unwilling, but lacked the courage to face his father's displeasure. It is much more probable that, without analysing his own feelings, he followed the path on which, from the beginning, his feet had been set.

Father O'Riordan is of opinion that it was the teacher Doud who first sowed in Callanan's mind doubts as to the appropriateness of the calling for which he was even then fitting himself. Doud's affection and sincere admiration for his young pupil would probably give his words some impact. Doud impressed upon Callanan that the priesthood was not the right profession for him, and he suggested Medicine instead. Callanan gave no sign. In 1814, at nineteen[1] years of age, he entered Maynooth.

This was the crucial act of Callanan's life. If one had some clue as to his state of mind at that moment, then all the scattered fragments of his life would gain coherence. It is by some readily accepted that Callanan had no vocation; that when he left Maynooth two[2] years later, he was merely extricating himself from a situation into which he had drifted. Those who hold this view find in the aimless years that followed merely a proof that Callanan, the "spoiled priest," was shattered by this initial failure. Had Callanan a vocation? Who can say? He had the poet's mind. The outer world surged into his consciousness through the wide-open portals of the senses and quickened his mind into a dreaming life which shut out the everyday scene. How little the world of adolescence is akin to the pattern of later years! At such a time the eye does not easily perceive the relentless shape of external reality. If this is so of mediocre youth, how much more true of the poet, who ever finds his reality within! Enclosed, isolated within his self-created world, he would instinctively avoid such impingements of the world of action as might shock him into awareness. It would be easier to follow the course predestined for him, particularly as (one may suppose) he found nothing disturbing in the prospect. Callanan did not enter Maynooth unwillingly, even if he did not enter there in a state of active volition. One can prove this by the fact that, when he decided he was unsuited for the priesthood, he left Maynooth.

During the first seminary year (to some extent merely a continuation

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[1] D. J. O'Donoghue says at seventeen (*Dublin Evening Telegraph*, Jan. 13, 1890). The writer of the 1861 Memoir makes the same statement.

[2] D. J. O'Donoghue says that Callanan left after a year or two, and gives the date 1815. But if Callanan entered Maynooth at 17 years, that is to say that he entered in 1812. If D. J. O'Donoghue is right as to Callan's age on entering, he cannot be right as to the length of his period at Maynooth—which, according to such a computation, would have been three years.

The 1861 Memoir says that Callanan entered Maynooth at 17 years, and that he left in summer 1815. This would also mean that he stayed there three years. In 1815 Callanan was twenty years of age. J. O'Mahony also says that Callanan was twenty when he left Maynooth. O'Donoghue, the writer of the 1861 Memoir and O'Mahony are certainly incorrect in these dates. Fr. O'Riordan has at hand the correspondence dealing with Callanan's departure from Maynooth, and he refers to specific letters, *e.g.* from Dr. Crotty, Rector of Maynooth. Fr. O'Riordan's particularisation of facts in relation to this period proves a knowledge which must be accepted as definite.

of studies) Callanan was perfectly happy. The second year brought him to the threshold of decision. Face to face with that prospect towards which, in passive trustfulness, he had journeyed, he is filled with awe and terror. He asks himself if what he feels is truly a vocation. How can he judge? How can he be sure that he has chosen God, since God was in any case chosen for him by a will other than his own? Was his former acceptance merely the acquiescence of weakness and not, after all, the dreaming hope in which he had believed? Callanan tears at his soul with wounding fingers. He tortures himself trying to find out what is true and what is false. He does not know. Since he does not know, dare he take the risk of God's displeasure? He does not dare. He faces instead the relentless anger of his father, and turns his back on Maynooth.

The mental strife of the past year had somewhat impaired Callanan's health. He was therefore granted permission to anticipate the summer holiday by some weeks. He left without summoning resolution to inform the College authorities of his decision. Worse still was the thought of breaking the news to his father. He would have wished to avoid going home, but this was impossible—all the more so as he had not returned to Cork during the preceding summer. One cannot find in this abstention any evidence of his absorption in his new life. It is rather a proof that Callanan, searching his spirit to meet the second year, found it impossible to do so in his own home. There can be little doubt that, whatever the love between Callanan and his family—and it was an ardent tie—he was crippled by a background in which quite literally he could not call his soul his own. Back in Cork, Callanan allowed the three months of the vacation to slip by without making that announcement which he knew would disrupt forever the peace and affection of his home. At last, a few weeks before the reopening of College, he went to stay with a Father McGrath, then a curate at Ennis. The new session began at Maynooth, but Callanan still lingered much to the embarrassment and distress of Father McGrath. Finally an explanation was precipitated by a letter from Callanan's sister, and Callanan was obliged to go home and to speak at last.

The dismay of Callanan's relatives was all the greater since they were entirely unprepared for such news. They had had glowing accounts of Callanan from his Superiors at the seminary. Now a letter from Dr. Crotty, the Rector, to Callanan's father was a further proof of this high opinion. Crotty spoke of Callanan as a young man who had given the greatest satisfaction; from whom and for whom he hoped great and good things, and whom he must believe to be led purely by principle in relinquishing the priesthood.

So far we have relied mainly on Fr. O'Riordan's Life of Callanan. Father O'Riordan does not mention that Callanan, to please his father, returned again to Maynooth, made his spiritual retreat and left almost

immediately. Yet this second attempt must certainly have taken place because the 1861 Memoir actually quotes the letter which Callanan wrote to his sister at this time: "If this letter makes my parents easy, it will restore to me that peace which I want no less than they. To relieve their anxiety I shall endeavour to know myself more thoroughly." To his father, announcing his final decision, Callanan wrote: "I have consulted two clergymen eminent for piety and prudence; they have both been of opinion that I should follow the promptings of my conscience. I hope this will meet with the approbation of God Himself." However, it did not meet with the approbation of Callanan's father. He remained obstinately incensed against his son and refused to assist him to the attainment of any other profession.

This detailed presentation of the first part of Callanan's life is essential to the understanding of all that followed. Sure only of what he could not become, Callanan was now adrift in a sea of indecision. To live at home, dependent, in an atmosphere heavy with grief and anger must have been extremely painful to him. He was soon to be plunged into still deeper misery by the death of his mother. Sunk in apathy, he withdrew into himself, and brooding—not dreaming—was now the fabric of his days. During his second year at Maynooth his pent-up emotions had found vent in poetry. Now he turns again to this release. It is not surprising that of these first poems no trace remains. No doubt he destroyed them as the too intimate expression of his distracted heart.

After he had remained unemployed for some little time, Callanan obtained in Cork city a position as tutor,[1] which he retained for one year. He was irked by the monotony and hardship of an occupation which seemed to lead nowhere. He knew himself to be the subject of chattering tongues. Spurred on by the desire to escape, he determined to enter Trinity College as a sizar and, with a friend who shared his intention, he went to Dublin in the summer of 1817. Callanan and his companion lodged in Harcourt Street and shared a common purse. Callanan presented himself for the Sizarship examinations, but was disappointed. He set about preparing himself for the next vacancies, but with no better success. Acting on the advice of a Mr. McDonald, one of the Fellows, he entered Trinity as a pensioner to study Medicine.[2] Callanan's wish to become a doctor may have been influenced by Doud's advice, or by the fact that bearers of the Callanan name had been noted physicians in West Cork.

[1] Because it is detailed, probable, and consistent as to dates, one accepts the account given by Father O'Riordan of the period from Callanan's departure from Maynooth until his return from the Isle of Wight. M. F. McCarthy (1847 Memoir) and Webb support the statement as to Callanan's teaching post in Cork city. McCarthy's date and the length of time which he states Callanan spent in this position are both incorrect.

[2] Fr. O'Riordan, J. O'Mahony, D. J. O'Donoghue and the writer of the 1861 Memoir agree that Medicine was the chosen course. Windele, McCarthy, Read and Webb are ranged on the side of Law. Garnett's statement is so vague as to be incomprehensible. He seems to imply that Callanan studied both Medicine and Law.

However, according to D. J. O'Donoghue, he took no interest in his chosen course. This writer says: " It is thought with good reason that he never attended one of the lectures." The only proof of any activity while he was at Trinity was that he won the Prize Poem Competition with a poem entitled " The Accession of George IV ". Various accounts are given as to the date[1] at which Callanan went to Trinity, the length of time he spent there[2] and his reasons for leaving. All agree that he was forced to leave for want of funds, and to this D. J. O'Donoghue adds that he left " as a protest against the conduct of the judges who awarded the prizes, conduct which ' disgusted ' him ". In regard to this period Fr. O'Riordan's narrative is more circumstantial and therefore more convincing than any other. He states that when Callanan went to Dublin he had hoped to support himself by tuitions. This scheme proved abortive, and Callanan was therefore obliged to depend on remittances from home. Since Fr. O'Riordan definitely states that Callanan's father had refused to assist him, one can only conclude that these sums were sent to him by some other member of the family. Under these circumstances, Callanan decided to return to Cork. There, while the College year for which he had paid fees was as yet unexpired, he wrote " Restoration of the Spoils of Athens," with which he won for the second time the Trinity Prize Poem competition.

These poems of Callanan's were of no value and did not express his true bent, which remained as yet undeveloped. Meanwhile he was again without resources, living at home and deeply conscious of having failed once more. But a writer of prize poems may claim entry into the literary circles of his town. The local lions and jackals now gathered round. Callanan was welcomed warmly as a man of talent. He became a member of the Anchorites Club. His geniality won him many acquaintances, some jovial cronies and a few friends. If gay companionship was what Callanan wanted, there was no lack. He did not want it, but he sought it as a means of forgetting. Yet, however convivial the society frequented by Callanan, we have it on the word of Fr. O'Riordan that Callanan still retained his high ethical principles; that he did not, as seems to have been suggested, drink to excess; and that, if he occasionally erred, he atoned for it by weeks of repentance.

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[1] D. J. O'Donoghue and J. O'Mahony state that Callanan entered Trinity in 1816. McCarthy states that Callanan, having left Maynooth, did nothing until the close of 1818, when a position was found for him in Cork city—a position which he retained for two years. Then, says McCarthy, he went to Trinity, *i.e.* in 1820. Webb follows this statement to some extent, but he does not state when Callanan obtained the position as tutor or the exact date of his entrance at Trinity. Read and Garnett give no date for Callanan's entrance at Trinity.

[2] As to the period that Callanan spent at Trinity: D. J. O'Donoghue says more than two years; McCarthy, the writer of 1861 Memoir, and Garnett say two years; Webb and O'Mahony do not specify. This two year period seems to have been deduced from the fact that Callanan won the Prize Poem competition twice. Fr. O'Riordan's explanation is consistent with the statement that Callanan spent one year at T.C.D.

Callanan now lived at two levels: a surface level of frothy jollity and the lowest depths of frustrated grief. We are told that he now began to regret that he had relinquished the priesthood. He saw himself as a traitor to God, justly condemned to suffer divine vengeance. He believed that he was doomed to blight every thing he touched and to afflict everyone he cared for. He even recalled that when he was leaving Maynooth for the last time, an accident befell Fr. McGrath who was coming to meet him. Weary past and hopeless future closed their dark wings over Callanan's spirit. Despair drove him to an act of utter folly. A company of the 18th Royal Irish Regiment was about to sail from Cove to the Isle of Wight and thence, after some weeks, to Malta. Callanan enlisted as a private, and it was only when the ship was due to sail and Callanan actually aboard, that his friends became aware of his intention. They immediately began negotiations to buy him out, and after a few weeks in the Isle of Wight Callanan was released from the army. At that moment Callanan toyed with the idea of going to London to try his literary fortunes. Had he done so, he might perhaps have found a competency and some degree of rehabilitation, but as a writer in the English vein it is doubtful if he could have achieved anything of interest. To speak with the Gaelic voice was his true gift. Before he could do so, he had to listen and muse in the wild valleys of Ivera. This Callanan did not realise, but he instinctively turned homeward.

Back to Cork then, to the familiar scenes which could most sting him with a sense of nothingness, to the critical eyes that followed his every movement as he passed aimlessly to and fro—a lost man. Perhaps the description penned some years later may enable us to envisage Callanan as he then was:

> In person he was rather stout, well formed and somewhat, I should think, above the middle height. His features wore a pale, fixed and stony serenity, and his eye, large, round but inexpressive save when greatly excited, seldom helped to enliven them. There was an air of abstraction, of deep-rooted and corroding thought about them, not developed enough for mental suffering, but as if they collapsed into the pacific composure of human and despairing endurance.[1]

It is difficult to reconcile the conflicting dates given as to Callanan's subsequent movements. All that we can say with any certainty is that, from Callanan's return from the Isle of Wight until he finally left Ireland, his life was one of fitful aims and erratic wanderings. West Cork became to him his dearest refuge. There he formed lasting friendships and could rely on warm hospitality. When periodically he spent some time in Cork, family life was unpleasant. The family finances seem to have been rather straitened, and his presence gave rise to divided attitudes. Occasionally also Callanan went to stay with a sister of his who was now married.

[1] See *Bolster's Magazine* (vol. iii, no. xi, Dec. 1829); art. entitled "The Anchorites". According to a marginal jotting in this volume of Bolster's belonging to Mr. Michael Holland of Cork, this article was written by Crofton Croker.

His only means of self-support was to accept, now and then, some teaching position.

At this time Gaelic was spoken even up to the fringes of Cork city and indeed could commonly be heard on the streets. Callanan therefore could scarcely have failed to pick up some knowledge of the native tongue. When he was at school at Cove, he began to study Irish so that if, as a priest, he were stationed in some country parish, he might not be impeded in his duties by ignorance of the language spoken by the majority of the people. Callanan's knowledge of Irish was now to be strengthened by his prolonged visits to West Cork. One would not say that it was ever very sound, but it gave him ample opportunity to develop those interests which had long attracted him and in which he was now to become absorbed. Traditions, legends, folklore, Gaelic poetry flowed into his ears through the language to which they were wedded. Callanan determined to collect material for writings in verse and prose, and particularly for a work to be entitled *Munster Melodies*. His aim as a poet is explicitly stated in his correspondence with Crofton Croker a few years later. It is his purpose " to give new voice to the harp of the South " :—

> Poetry being my only profession, as much from necessity as choice, I had entertained a hope of distinguishing myself in some yet unexplored field of its wide regions. From my boyhood I have been fond of Irish song and story. Seeing the host of poets of all dimensions that in the present day are fighting their way to fame and profit, I thought it would be a vain attempt in me to cope with them on their own ground, and therefore determined to act in a department where I should have few or no antagonists. With this view I converted what before was a matter of amusement into a serious occupation, and at every interval of leisure employed myself in rescuing from the oblivion which I deemed they were hastening to all that I could find in the songs and traditions of the South-west of Munster.

But, alas! Callanan's ambition outstripped his diligence. The nine poems which he rendered into English are certainly not all that he found, although they are sufficient to prove what we might have gained had he persevered; nor could he even now have been really conscious of his particular gift, since he continued to flirt with the English Muse.

It is said that, after Callanan's return from England, his first post as tutor was in the home of a Mr. McCarthy of Millstreet (not the biographer of 1847). Here he spent two years, during which he must have acquired a considerable amount of Gaelic lore. He then came back to Cork and spent a few months as usher at Maginn's school. For unstated reasons he was advised to relinquish this position—a counsel which he must have been only too willing to obey, since summer had now returned. With £12 in his pocket he took the road westward to Ivera. His first pause of any duration was at Bantry where he stayed with Dr. Bourke, to whose unfailing generosity he was deeply indebted. Then for six months he acted as tutor to the son of a Mr. O'Driscoll of Cloverhill, Skibbereen. During this time Callanan set himself to translate some of

the poems he had gathered. These, with some legends, he determined to publish in volume form. Meanwhile he had been writing original poems, some of which appeared in the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*. Now surely, with a little sustained effort, Callanan must find himself at last. But it was not to be. He could not rest in any place or an any resolution. The fevered roaming continued. The projected volume was postponed until some other time. In 1823, through the advocacy of William Maginn, six of Callanan's translations appeared together in *Blackwood's Magazine*.[1] In the following year Callanan again seemed filled with the notion of publishing in volume. Indeed he went so far as to issue a prospectus. The announcement was well received, and Callanan obtained many subscriptions. Then he suddenly abandoned the project—due, says McCarthy, to " the absurd idea that his publishing by subscription would have the effect of rendering his productions less respectable in the eyes of the public ". He decided that he would try to secure publication in London. Almost a year was to elapse before he even made this attempt. Some time in 1825 he placed the MS. in the hands of James Roche, a Corkman then resident in London, who promised to exert all his influence to secure publication.

Callanan was now thirty years of age. The years slipped by, but he remained in that strange suspension between the will and the deed. He was writing sporadically, but his output was small. Despite the recognition afforded by *Blackwood's* on that unique occasion, he had not acquired that self-confidence which is essential to full development. Without a home, without a livelihood, without his proper place in the world of letters, he was a waif strayed somehow into a world still alien. It was not that he lacked friends. From one point of view he had too many, although it is doubtful if even privation could have proved a spur to action. As it was he wanted little, and that little was supplied by those who saw in him the shy warmth and disarming simplicity of a child. He could indeed have supported himself as a tutor, but this he essayed only once more during his residence in Ireland. In 1825 he accepted a position at the Everton School, near Carlow, but left after twelve months. The regularity and arduousness of a teacher's life chafed Callanan's spirit, and it involved a separation from friends which his affectionate and dependent nature could ill endure. He was caught also in the stultifying net of provincial fame. A prophet is rarely a prophet in his own country ; and it is better so, because it forces the aspirant to seek the impersonal judgment of the wider public. But Callanan was granted recognition by his own, perhaps because with their admiration they could mingle pity for his apparent failure. It was easy for Callanan's retiring nature to take refuge in this warm cocoon of praise. Sweeter it is to gather garlands in an intimate

[1] These were : " O'Sullivan Bear," " The Girl I love," " The Convict of Clonmel," ' O say, my brown Drimin," " The White Cockade," and " The Avenger." (vol. xiii).

circle than to challenge the world. Such plaudits would be well enough for one who could aim no higher; or for one who through some timid shrinking, some atrophy of will, recoils from a testing of strength. Callanan so recoiled.

For his development Callanan would have needed not merely friendship, but understanding; sympathy which would encourage his gift to burgeon; someone with vision to show him what he might become; some will to galvanise him into activity. There was no such person in Callanan's circle. Maginn was now in London, but in any case he was powerless to assist Callanan except through his influence. Callanan and Maginn were worlds apart in back-ground, in endowment and in aim. Temperamentally also they could no more have understood each other than could a nightingale and a hawk. In the Anchorites Club, to which Callanan repaired when in Cork, he could hope for little more than hearty intercourse with mediocrities. Callanan's friends could offer only warm hearts and ready pockets and a generous hearth. Between Callanan and his friends there was a delusive appearance of equality. On the one hand, fecklessness and poetry; on the other efficiency and lack of poetry. Each could yield tribute to the other, but they could not meet on common ground. Time which might have been spent in serious endeavour Callanan devoted to such companionship. McCarthy says: "His social habits, his local and personal attachments kept him in fetters which he seldom wished to break."

In 1825 Callanan spent the summer at Clonakilty and wrote "The Recluse of Inchidony". His period at Everton was barren except for one graceful piece, "To a Sprig of Mountain Heath". On his return from Everton, in 1826, he remained for three months with Dr. Bourke of Bantry. During this time he paid a visit to Gougane Barra where, while sheltering from a thunderstorm, he composed his best-known poem, "Gougane Barra". In this same year was initiated *Bolster's Magazine*, which lasted until 1831. In the issue for August 1826 there appeared an article entitled "Irish Poetry," which prefaced three translations from Irish poems, *i.e.* "The Lamentation of Felix M'Carthy," "Cusheen Loo," and "On the Last Day". Beneath the last poem was the signature "J. J. C." It was natural to assume that Callanan was the author of the article and of the three poems. D. F. McCarthy, in his *Book of Irish Ballads* (p. 187), ascribes to Callanan "The Lamentation of Felix M'Carthy" and "Cusheen Loo". So also did Spalding. Read, Collins and others accepted that Callanan was the author of "Cusheen Loo". But D. J. O'Donoghue records that the British Museum copy of "The Recluse of Inchidony" contains manuscript letters from Callanan to Maginn and Crofton Croker and also the letter from Croker which had elicited these letters of Callanan's. One of these letters establishes the fact that Callanan was not the author of the article or of any of the poems

except the last (" On the Last Day ") to which his initials were affixed.[1] This correspondence is of much interest not merely because it establishes the question of authorship, but also because it contains that statement of Callanan's aspirations which we have already considered.

Callanan was still in Bantry when the letter from Crofton reached him. It contained a request which was evidently supported by a letter from Maginn. Croker states that he has in preparation a work to be entitled *The Minstrelsy of The South of Ireland*, in which he intends to include songs and ballads from the year 1400 to his own period. He asks permission to use the Callanan translations which had appeared in *Blackwood's* and also some translations which were printed over Callanan's name in *Bolster's*. He offers to make Callanan " any suitable return ". Replying on September 27, Callanan explains that he himself has been making a collection of songs and legends, and he says : " The only terms upon which I could contribute to your proposed undertaking would be these : a share, suppose to the extent of a volume, in the getting-up of the work, and a proportional share in the profits." (These terms Croker refused.) To Maginn Callanan writes expressing his regret that he cannot oblige Croker except on the specified terms, since he himself is hard at work " in the same line ". His letter makes it clear that the volume of poems entrusted to James Roche for London publication, is still unplaced. Callanan thanks Maginn for his efforts to get these poems into *The New Monthly*, even though these efforts have been unsuccessful. Callanan encloses to Maginn his poem " Gougane Barra " in the hope that, through Maginn's influence, it may be accepted by *The New Monthly*. About two months later (on November 17, 1826) Callanan writes to Croker (from Clonakilty) in reply to a letter in which Croker has offered to delay publication of his work in favour of Callanan's—a safe concession in view of Callanan's well-known dilatoriness. Callanan gratefully declines this proposition because, as he says, " my rude ditties are not in a great way of forwarding, owing to many causes ". But he adds : " 'Tis but fair to acquaint you that I will publish as soon as I can." Croker has offered to be of service to Callanan. Callanan asks that Croker may use his influence with Campbell the poet so that Callanan may be accepted as a contributor to *The New Monthly*. He aims at *The New Monthly* with the idea that his prestige as a contributor may pave the way for the publication of his volume. Callanan never got into *The New Monthly*, but in the year following his death his poems did appear in London.

For some time past Callanan's friends had been casting about for some means by which he could advance himself and achieve independence. It was suggested that he should go to London. Such a project, however, would have required a strenuous effort and a degree of practical ability

[1] In an article on Crofton Croker which appeared in *Studies*, December 1943, I erroneously ascribed to Callanan " The Lamentation of Felix M'Carthy ".

of which Callanan was not capable. It was then mooted that Callanan should open a school. This scheme aroused Callanan's enthusiasm, but it required financial capital, which Callanan himself did not possess and which, in view of his erratic habits, his advisers were not willing to supply. These conclaves were brought to an end by Callanan's departure for West Cork, with the aid of a small sum of money lent to him by a friend. Like a wandering minstrel who takes no thought of the morrow, he followed wherever his fancy led. McCarthy suggests, in a veiled way, that Callanan's western journeys were prompted by more than the love of Gaelic culture. He implies that some romantic attraction kept Callanan chained for months in the neighbourhood of Clonakilty or Bandon; and he speaks of Bandon as the scene of Callanan's willing thraldom. Callanan himself, writing to Windele from Bandon on 17 January 1827, explains the cause of the thraldom: "I have made a great harvest in the Irish way. If I'm not before Croker in one way, I think I shall in another. I'm living here à la J. O. L.[1] Priests and doctors, Police Officers and Bourgeois are feeding me and looking out for me—I must get visiting cards at last—Go voire Dia oruing; but I'll fly to the mountains."

But the time had come when Callanan was to quit these scenes forever. When, in the beginning of summer 1837, he returned to Cork, it was to find an atmosphere in every respect the reverse of that which had enveloped him in the country. There the kindly folk, with a traditional reverence for poetry and learning, regarded him as a lily of the field; but to more hard-headed city dwellers self-support is considered an essential of self-respect. Callanan's quiescence, which they had regarded as a youthful phase, had gone on too long. He was thirty-two. He was penniless, shiftless, without occupation, without prospects, without even an appearance of applying himself seriously to poetry. His first outpourings, which they had acclaimed as the herald of future glory, had been succeeded by what seemed a mere trickle of song. His local reputation had suffered eclipse when news of highly successful Cork writers had drifted back to Leeside. Had not Maginn taken by storm London's literary citadel? Had not Crofton Croker won world-wide celebrity, since the *Fairy Legends* had already been translated into German and was even now being translated into French? There was money to be made at this game of writing, and anyone could make it except Callanan. He had borrowed too often without hope of making good the debt. He had produced too little to justify this prolonged dependance on casual aid. Even the most lovable child must grow up some time; even the most excellent poet must somehow earn his bread. It should be possible to combine with some remunerative work the art of making verses. No, the citizens of Cork could not understand Callanan. (Small wonder, since he could scarcely understand

[1] *i.e.* Joseph O'Leary, one of the Anchorites. Amongst his writings was *The Tribute*, a miscellaneous volume of prose and verse, published in 1833.

himself.) They became weary of one who seemed content, like the sparrows, to pick up crumbs of sustenance. Old friends, their generosity and tolerance exhausted, drew away. The general public, supine, watched with curious interest. It is always strangers who come forward at such a crisis, their benevolence as yet untried, confident of succeeding where others have failed. Strangers now set themselves to solve the problem of Callanan's future. They were business-men who refused to believe that his talents could not be made to yield him some dividend. Apart from poetry, his very education should make him employable in some useful sphere. They questioned him; they drew up schemes; they tried " to place " him; they endeavoured " to rouse him to a sense of the impropriety of being an inefficient member of society ". But Callanan had already made up his mind. It was not their officious mouthings, but a taunt hurled at him by a former friend which stung him into action.

To Callanan action had always been synonymous with flight. Whither could he flee now? Most opportunely a position as tutor was offered him in September by a Cork merchant named Hickey, then resident in Lisbon. This climate seemed favourable to Callanan's failing health, and he determined to go. McCarthy tells us that, at the last moment, Callanan hesitated. Deeply rooted in his own soil, he could not bear to leave it forever. That it would be forever, Callanan knew. His farewells said, he spent the last night at the Hermitage, which was the meeting-place of the Anchorites. When the final moment came he seemed unable to drag himself away, and some of his companions deemed it wiser to accompany him to Cove. There they saw him aboard and went away. Then Callanan learned that sailing must be delayed for some hours to await a favourable wind. Late that night, when a few Anchorites still lingered in the Hermitage talking of Callanan, in walked the poet, full of joy at the respite. But when the vessel heaved anchor and made for the open sea, Callanan was on her and looked his last at Ireland.

He only is fortunate who can recognise the essence of his being. Then the discord of mingled traits resolves itself into harmony and the true life begins at last. Now, under foreign skies, shorn of all that he had cherished, the true life began for Callanan. The eyes which so long had fed on the beauty of lake and mountain now see on every side only a scorched brown waste, " one unvarying brown surface, without verdure, wood or water ". But for the unfamiliar orange and lemon trees, there is no spot of green. The babble of a strange tongue rises up around him, and the ear is fretted by the incessant chiming of bells. Here he must stay until he has health and money enough to go home. Meanwhile he resolves to exert himself. He must not die in exile. He must fill his days with some activity, so that they may not be as barren and thirsting as this strange place. He will try to find further engagements as a tutor—although, he adds sadly, if he secures such additional work, it will be

impossible for him to write poetry. He will learn Portuguese. He will translate Portuguese poetry. He will focus on Moorish and Roman remains his interest in antiquities. He is still agitated as to the fate of that volume of poems, now transferred from James Roche in London to Bolster in Cork. *Bolster's* (No. 8) carries an announcement of forthcoming publication. He wishes to omit, to add, to make emendations. He writes home to Windele, trying to arrange matters.

Then all these things fall away. He obtains only one additional teaching post, which he gives up after one month. (Perhaps his health would not permit him to retain it.) He writes two original poems of little worth on " subjects of sacred history ". He translates the Portuguese poem " De la Vida del Cielo ". He finds the local antiquities of no interest since " they want the legend and song of our land to speak for them in their desolation." His volume of poetry does not appear.[1] He pauses. What now remains to him? Only to be alone with his own soul. Not more than a month after his arrival in Lisbon he makes this entry in his little notebook :—

Recollections of Maynooth—morning-bell—frosty morning—five o'clock. Benedicamus—soldier of Jesus, mine was not your lot—the better way is to submit to what I must be, what Thou willest or I am lost for ever—oceans of mercy ; but let the remotest billow touch me and I am saved—deep moonlight—cloudy region of my soul.

The days, the months slip by. Callanan looks back over his life. He cries out : " What a dark waste I leave behind ! " And again :—

God pursues me. I hope God has overtaken me, but not in His justice. My director in Ireland told me that God was pursuing me. My director in Lisbon says something similar. I did not wait for God, but He followed me over the ocean and I hope has overtaken me. A million of praises to God. I have been to Communion today.

Christmas comes—Callanan's first Christmas out of Ireland. He writes :—

Christmas Eve, 1827—This night twelvemonth I was in Clonakilty with dear friends. This night I am alone in a land of strangers, but if, as I purpose, please God, I seek to be alone with God, I shall be happy anywhere.

" January 1st, 1828—In the name of the most Holy Trinity. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto." In another place he writes :—

Most pure among the angels and saints, Mary, shall not this harp be strung to thee, thou loveliest far of all ever born of earth—woman, but Mother of Jesus. Virgin, the heaven-born snow is dark to thy purity and brightness.

[1] Contemporaneously with his death in 1829, Callanan's poems were published in Cork. The following year a fresh edition was brought out in London. Three more editions appeared in Cork, *i.e.* in 1847, '48 and '61. Other editions were included in *Gems from the Cork Poets*, of which the latest appeared in 1883.

In reading Callanan's life one cannot fail to be struck by its fundamental similarity with the life of Francis Thompson. They were both dreamers, highly sensitive, deeply spiritual, of a child-like cleanness of heart. Both had an urgent desire for poetic self-expression. Both were intended for the priesthood. Neither attained to it. Thereafter each becomes a fugitive from the Hound of Heaven. They essay Medicine and abandon it. They are irresolute, impractical, indifferent to material things. Each seems incapable of directing his own life. Thompson sells matches in the street and runs errands. Callanan is largely maintained by his friends. Each lacked a realisation of his own gifts. Thompson, newly rescued from the starvation, reads some poems of Alice Meynell's, finds in them thoughts which he had tried to express, and exclaims in wonder : " Then I too am a poet ! " But Thompson, after bitter vicissitudes, was befriended by the very people who could best understand and encourage his genius. Callanan had no Meynells, and he never knew his own possibilities. That his poetic gift differed in kind and in degree from that of Thompson scarcely needs saying, yet to omit such an explicit statement might leave one open to misinterpretation.

Callanan had been two years in Lisbon when the end came. In September 1829 it was apparent that he was beyond medical aid. He had now only one wish—to die at home. He was taken aboard a vessel bound for Cork, but his condition made it necessary to remove him to hospital. On September 19, 1829, he died at Lisbon at the age of thirty-four. He was buried in the cemetery adjoining the Church of San José. Writing from Lisbon in 1876, a correspondent of the *Athenaeum* stated that, owing to the destruction of church and cemetery, no trace of Callanan's grave was to be found. That oblivion which obscures so many aspects of the poet's life, has scattered his dust to the wind. To Callanan, pilgrim and sojourner, not even the grave could offer a known resting-place.

B. G. MacCarthy

RECENT RESEARCH ON IRISH HAGIOGRAPHY

BY LUDWIG BIELER, PH.D.

THE title of the present article implies a double restriction. I am dealing here only with studies in Irish hagiography, as distinct from the wider field of hagiology, and only with studies based on original research work or intended as guides for research workers ; in other words, with scholarly contributions to our knowledge of the Lives, in Latin and Gaelic, of Irish saints.

The subject of this article is not hagiography as such, but hagiographical studies. Works, however excellent, which are merely a new presentation of known facts have been deliberately excluded. Irish hagiography is still alive. The tradition that started with Cogitosus and Muirchu has never come to an end ; in our own time it is represented by such writers as Hugh de Blacam or Alice Curtayne. These are creative hagiographers in their own right ; however, they do not fall under our terms of reference —not until, in some remote future, their works will be made the subject of learned studies. On the other hand, books and articles in which scholars have summed up the results of their research for the benefit of the general reader are not to be excluded. A comparison of two books with the identical title, *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, by Hugh de Blacam and Eóin MacNeill respectively, can show exactly what I mean.

As a starting point I take J. F. Kenney's *Sources for the early History of Ireland, I. Ecclesiastical* (1929). Works discussed in this admirable guide-book will be mentioned merely in order to study problems in their proper setting ; exempt from this restriction are some publications issued in 1928 and 1929, which have been listed without comment in Dr. Kenney's *Addenda*.

This survey will necessarily be incomplete. It has not been my intention to compile a *bibliographie raisonnée*, but rather to discuss problems and things to be done. Not in the last place is this article an appeal to the educated public in the interest of Irish hagiographical studies.

1. *General Works*

An excellent guide to recent studies in our subject is Fr. Felim O'Briain's article, *Irish Hagiography : historiography and method*.[1] The author does not confine himself to hagiography in the strict sense as here adopted—for which we have every reason to be grateful. Two works of earlier date, neither of which is hagiological in scope, are indispensable for the interpretation of any Life of an Irish saint : Fr. John Ryan's

[1] *Measgra Mhihil Ui Chléirigh* (1944), pp. 119-131.

Irish Monasticism (1931) and Dom Louis Gougaud's *Christianity in Celtic Lands* (1932).[1]

During the last years Dr. John Hennig has been studying the later liturgical and folkloristic tradition concerning Irish saints; unfortunately, the results of his studies in this much neglected subject are scattered over numerous periodicals in this country and abroad. A major publication from his pen, dealing with the Proper of Saints for Ireland, is to be expected in the near future. The importance of the liturgical tradition for studies in hagiography is not generally realized; yet, the historical lessons of the Breviary represent the latest stage of living hagiography in the Latin language. A study of these lessons in the successive editions of local breviaries from the late Middle Ages to the present day ought to supplement the research on the earlier texts from which the former are derived. Here lies material practically untouched; it is to be hoped that it will eventually be turned to account.

Next we consider some basic hagiographical sources. The *Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland*,[2] which has been known so far from *Codex Salmanticensis* on the one hand and Ussher's edition, based on two MSS. not further specified, on the other, is preserved also in a seventeenth century entry on fol. 72r–73v of MS. Brit. Mus., Addit. 30512; this text has been published by Père Paul Grosjean.[3] It would be worth while to establish a critical text on the basis of these four witnesses.

Père Grosjean has published also a critical edition of the important *Catalogus praecipuorum sanctorum Hiberniae* of Father Henry FitzSimon, S.J.[4]; this edition is based on three different recensions in which this work is extant: the list dated Rome 1611 and printed in O'Sullevan Beare's *Historiae Catholicae Iberniae Compendium* of 1621; the Liége edition of 1619 (from the copy in Trinity College, Dublin, with Ussher's handwritten notes in the margin); and the manuscript copy at Brussels, Bibl. Royale 8530–8534, fol. 2r–11r. The editor's notes are of special value; they contain ample references to MSS. and printed editions used by FitzSimon for his compilation. From a note appended to the Brussels copy (fol. 12r) we learn that one of FitzSimon's sources was the *Codex Kilkenniensis* (Dublin, Marsh's Library, Z.3.1.5), then in possession of an Englishman named Wuluerston, at Stillorgan.[5]

The hagiological efforts of the Irish Jesuits were continued by the Irish Franciscans. The latter may be seen at work in the documents

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[1] Revised and enlarged edition of the same author's *Les chrétientés celtiques* (1911). On Dom Gougaud's hagiographical studies, see also J. Hennig, *The historical work of Louis Gougaud*, in *Ir. Hist. Studies* III (1942-43), pp. 180-186.

[2] See Kenney, *Sources*, p. 478.

[3] *Irish Texts* III (1931), pp. 82-84.

[4] *Féil-Sgribhinn Eóin Mhic Néill* (1940), pp. 335-393.

[5] Possibly identical with James Wolverstone, of Stillorgan, first in a list of 22 persons pardoned under a warrant dated May 15, 1604 (*Carte Papers* Vol. LXI, p. 129; see *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland*, 1603-1606, no. 260, p. 168).

from the Archives of St. Isidore's, Rome, published by Fr. Brendan Jennings.[1] These documents include part of the correspondence of Hugh Ward, on whose *schedae* Colgan, the early Bollandists and Ussher largely depended for texts concerning Irish saints. The references to hagiographical MSS. in this correspondence deserve the attention of all those who are interested in textual history. On Colgan and the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* see also the last chapter of Fr. Jennings's book, *Michael O'Cleirigh, Chief of the Four Masters, and his associates* (1936), pp. 175–183. The contributions to Irish hagiographical studies made by the Bollandists are appreciated by Fr. A. Gwynn, S.J.: *The Bollandists: past and present.*[2]

The comprehensive manuscript collections of *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* are not yet completely exhausted. MS. Maynooth 3.G.1 (written in A.D. 1627), a copy of the *Kilkenniensis* collection which is possibly independent of the Marsh manuscript,[3] should be fully collated; an edition of the *Insulensis* collection, at least so far as the Lives are not mere transcripts of texts in *Codex Salmanticensis* or *Kilkenniensis*, would also be welcome.

Editions of hagiographical texts in the Gaelic language and studies in Irish and Hiberno-Latin hagiography are listed in Dr. R. I. Best's *Bibliography of Irish Philology and Manuscript Literature. Publications* 1913–1941 (Dublin 1942), pp. 146–162; this bibliography does not aim at completeness on the Latin side.

This chapter may be concluded with a summary reference to *Irish Texts* edited by J. Fraser, P. Grosjean and J. G. O'Keeffe, 1931 ff.

2. *St. Patrick*

The tide of literature brought into existence by the 1932 memorial has only recently ebbed away. Considering the amount of publications on St. Patrick, the gain for hagiographical studies is not excessive.

Among general works on the subject, only Eóin MacNeill's *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland* (1934) is based on an independent study of the sources. In this book the witness borne by the saint's writings, the Lives, and the annalistic tradition are carefully weighed against each other and combined into a truly historical synthesis. Detailed proof of the author's views is given in a previous article, entitled *The historical St. Patrick.*[4] Two

[1] *Analecta Hibernica* VI (1934), pp. 203-247.

[2] *Studies* XXXV (1946), pp. 53-62. This article is based to some extent on a paper by Rev. P. Peeters, S.J.: *L'oeuvre des Bollandistes. Mémoire de l'Académie royale de Belgique* XXXIX (1942). See also E. Franceschini, *Il terzo centenario degli 'Acta Sanctorum' e il P. I. Delehaye* in: *Vita e Pensiero*, Nova Series XXXIV (1943), pp. 108-114.

[3] Cf. Plummer, *Miscellanea hagiographica Hibernica* (1925), p. 178; P. Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana* XLVI (1928), pp. 116-18.

[4] *St. Patrick*, Fifteenth Centenary Memorial Book, ed. Rev. P. Walsh (1932), pp. 7-30.—I cannot pass in silence the pamphlet by Rev. F. Shaw, *The real St. Patrick* (1931). Although it is professedly not a learned book, it is proof of the fact that reserved judgment, serious treatment and objective diction can be maintained even in a booklet intended for the broadest public.

other scholars of reputation, K. Müller[1] and R. A. S. Macalister,[2] refuse to admit as historical evidence anything besides the *Confessio* and *Epistola*. Most readers will feel that this attitude is too rigorous; however, as long as we do not see far enough beyond the extant Lives of St. Patrick, it would be unjust to find much fault with such a reserve. If Eóin MacNeill did overcome the difficulty, it was only by his astounding historical intuition.

A critical analysis of the Lives of St. Patrick, both Latin and Irish, is overdue. Its lack is constantly felt in publications dealing with any particular aspect of Patrick's life; it has, *e.g.*, seriously affected the discussion of the *Silua Focluti* problem[3] and the Two Patricks controversy.[4] This state of affairs may be seen at its worst in John E. Sexton's article, *The Birthplace of St. Patrick*[5] (with the somewhat misleading sub-title, *An essay in textual criticism*); assuming extensive textual corruption of an unusual nature in the *Confessio* and the early Lives,[6] the author argues that Patrick was born at Rome, was carried off during the raid of Alaric in A.D. 410, and sold as a slave in Ireland later on.

An excellent survey of the whole field is provided by James F. Kenney, *St. Patrick and the Patrick Legend*.[7] Dr. Kenney gives indeed far more than a mere survey; dealing with the writings of St. Patrick as a biographical source and with the early Lives as successive stages in the formation of the Patrick Legend, he not only states every problem with perfect clarity and discusses in detail the solutions proposed, but makes also a number of original contributions. Of special interest is Dr. Kenney's sober valuation of the various arguments for the relative chronology of the missions of Palladius and Patrick (pp. 29–34).

Further progress depends largely on the establishment of critical texts and the study of these texts as individual literary manifestations. The importance of critical editions has been emphasized more than once by the late Prof. Eóin MacNeill, most urgently in connection with his scheme of *Monumenta Hiberniae*.[8] I have endeavoured to lay the foundations for a critical edition of the "dossier" of St. Patrick in my *Codices Patriciani Latini* (1942). The many imperfections of this survey are due partly to the difficulties inherent in the subject, partly to the emergency

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[1] *Der heilige Patrick*. Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Göttingen 1931, phil.-hist. Klasse, No. 5.

[2] *Ancient Ireland* (1935), pp. 160-176.

[3] See my article *The problem of Silua Focluti* in *Irish Historical Studies* III (1943), pp. 351-364, with full bibliography of literature since 1905; also my correspondence with Prof. Macalister, *ibid.* IV (1944), pp. 103-105.

[4] T. F. O'Rahilly, *The Two Patricks* (1942). See also Rev. J. Ryan, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5. ser., LX (1942), pp. 241-252, and the contributions to this problem by G. Murphy, Eóin MacNeill, Rev. F. Shaw and L. Bieler in STUDIES XXXII (1943), pp. 297-326.

[5] *The Catholic Historical Review* XVII (1931), pp. 131-150.

[6] E.g. Conf. 1 *patrem habui Calpornium diaconum* is considered as a corruption of *patriam habui keleberimam* (sic), *dico Romam*.

[7] *Thought* VIII (1933), pp. 1-34; 213-229.

[8] See STUDIES XIII (1924), p. 188.

conditions under which the book was written. As a result of friendly criticism here and abroad and of my continued study of the subject, some open questions have since been decided, and my views of many details have been enlightened. I hope to give an account, both more complete and more exact, of the same materials in the near future.

The hymn in honour of St. Patrick traditionally ascribed to St. Secundinus has been studied in great detail by Eóin MacNeill.[1] According to this scholar, the hymn was composed not only in Patrick's lifetime, but before the Confession. If the hymn dates from the fifth century—and I can see no valid objection to this view—then it would indeed appear to be earlier than the Confession; at any rate, this may be concluded with great probability from a textual comparison of the two documents.

The obscurities of St. Patrick's *Confessio* and *Epistola* continue to be a vexation for scholars.[2] Interpretations and emendations of the text have been offered by Mario Esposito,[3] F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock[4] and Eóin MacNeill.[5]—St. Patrick's literary affinities with the Latin Fathers had been discussed by Montgomery Hitchcock as far back as 1907; in two recent articles[6] the author, taking up his earlier research, compares the Latinity of St. Patrick with that of the Latin Irenaeus, Cyprian and the Gaulish poet Orientius. The material presented in these articles is valuable enough, but the author's conclusions suffer to some extent from his narrow basis of comparison. Many stylistic details considered as individual agreements between Patrick and one of these authors by Montgomery Hitchcock are in fact common features of late ecclesiastical Latin. The neglect of late Latin philology is taking a vengeance.—The obscure expression *sugere mamellas* (Conf. 18) has been explained as referring to the Irish *cích* by two scholars independently[7]; incidentally, *sugentes mamellas* is the Old Latin reading at Oseas xiv.1 in the Constance-Weingarten fragments.—The "creed" of St. Patrick is dealt with in a monograph by J. E. L. Oulton, *The credal statements of St. Patrick* (1940). Some of the numerous parallels which Oulton has collected are indeed very instructive; his view that Patrick's "creed" is based partly on the well-known passage in Victorinus as revised by St. Jerome seems questionable.—Important for the literary appreciation

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[1] *The hymn of Secundinus in honour of St. Patrick*, in *Ir. Hist. Studies* II (1940), pp. 129-153. See also M. Esposito, *Hermathena* XX (1930), p. 230 f.

[2] The contributions to be mentioned hereafter will be discussed in detail in my forthcoming commentary on the Latin writings of St. Patrick.

[3] *Hermathena* XX (1930), pp. 229-231.

[4] *Hermathena* LI (1938), pp. 65-76.

[5] STUDIES XX (1931), pp. 39-48; 449-460.

[6] *Hermathena* XLVII (1932), pp. 202-233; LIV (1939), pp. 93-109.

[7] Rev. J. Ryan, *Ir. Eccl. Record*, 5 ser., LII (1938), pp. 293-299; M. A. O'Brien, *Etudes celtiques* III (1939), pp. 372 f.

f the *Confessio* as a whole is Prof. M. Tierney's article, *The European ackground of St. Patrick's mission.*[1]

Fragments of a lost letter of St. Patrick are preserved in a note which o far has found but little attention ; it occurs in MS. Cotton Otho E. xiii, ol. 132v (the last clause, now missing in the MS., is preserved by a uotation in Ussher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, 1639, p. 1049). his note, concerning the early bishops of Mag Ai, has a parallel in the ook of Armagh (fol. 9r, a ; originally, it would appear, belonging to irechán's collections), where mention is made of a letter sent by St. atrick to Cethiacus and Sacellus.[2]

The *Tripartite Life of Patrick* is now available in the critical edition y Prof. K. Mulchrone : *Bethu Phátraic. I. Text and Sources.* 1939. he second volume, which will contain an English translation and notes n the text, is eagerly awaited not only by Celtic students but also by tudents of Irish hagiography. In the meantime Prof. Mulchrone has dited the fragments, discovered in 1941, of MS. Rawlinson B. 512 and ragments of a sister manuscript, preserved inside the covers of MS. RIA Stowe A. 2.4.[3]—An account of the Cruachan Aighle episode, found s a separate item in MS. Merchants' Quay A. 9 (15th century), p. 24a–5b, has been edited with a Latin translation by P. Grosjean.[4] This ccount is based partly on the Tripartite Life, partly on other Gaelic ources ; the author makes free use of his material.

A comparatively late Life of St. Patrick (middle of the 12th century ?), n Latin, and preserved only in MS. Cotton Vitellius E. vii, has been dited by the present writer.[5] It is of little interest in itself, but helps o clarify the relations between Colgan's *Vita Tertia* and Jocelin on the ne hand, the Tripartite and these Latin Lives on the other. The three atin Lives just mentioned belong to a group of abridged versions of the *ita Tripartita ;* this group has so far been represented only by the ebor Brecc text ; an independent representative of the same group is IS. RIA Stowe C. iv. 3 In the common source of the Latin texts the nderlying Tripartite version has been contaminated with Muirchu.

For another twelfth century Life of St. Patrick, a work of William f Malmesbury that has to be considered as lost, we may now consult Iax Manitius.[6] It will hardly be possible to go beyond the analysis iven by C. H. Slover[7] ; more light could be expected only from the iscovery of the manuscripts that were still extant in Leland's time, but here is little hope that they may ever be traced.

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[1] Studies xxi (1932), pp. 199-212.
[2] See M. Esposito, *Hermathena* xlviii (1933), p. 236 ; P. Grosjean, *Anal. Boll.* lii (1934), pp. 411-412 ; lxii (1944), pp. 44-46 ; 51-60.
[3] *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* xx (1942), pp. 39-53 ; 129-144. The pressmark of the Stowe fragments is now B. iv. 1b.
[4] *Anal. Boll.* l (1932), pp. 346-357.
[5] *Measgra Mhiihil Ui Chléirigh* (1944), pp. 220-237.
[6] *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* iii (1931), p. 468.
[7] *Modern Philology* xxiv (1926), pp. 5-20.

The real problem of Patrician hagiography is the relation of the Lives to *Confessio* and *Epistola* and of the Lives mutually. The former will be examined in the first part of my forthcoming edition of the writings of St. Patrick. The latter has since the days of J. B. Bury never ceased to be studied.

The texts to be compared fall into three main groups: documents preserved in the Book of Armagh, the Tripartite Life in its several recensions, and the Latin *Vitae* II, III, IV and V (Probus) in Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*.[1] The problem is best approached by a study of the Lives in Colgan's collection. John L. Gough Meissner[2] argues that Vita II, Probus Book I and Muirchu chaps. 1–22 follow independently one and the same source, a British Life of St. Patrick based on a *Vita Patricii* and a *Vita Palladii* which date from the middle of the sixth century. These postulated sources remain hypothetical as do some corollaries (Palladius sent as bishop to the Scots of Pictland; Patrick ordained bishop at York); but the author's view of the relation between Vita II, Probus and Muirchu, resulting from a comparison of contents, is in the main confirmed by the detailed textual comparison of these Lives which I have since made. However, the relation assumed by Meissner for Muirchu and Vita II should be extended to the parallel text of Vita IV and to Part I of the Tripartite Life, or rather to the common source of these three documents; as regards Book I of Probus, it seems safer to assume with Bury that it is on the whole dependent on Muirchu.

More crucial problems are presented by the Patrician documents in the Book of Armagh, which may now be studied conveniently in an excellent collotype facsimile.[3] At the outset, there is the difficulty of separating accurately the major texts from the minor entries by which they are surrounded. Summing up existing opinions, P. Grosjean presents a lucid and sufficiently " elastic " analysis of this section of the *Liber Ardmachanus*.[4]

In a series of articles,[5] Prof. MacNeill has endeavoured to establish the relative chronology of Muirchu, Tírechán and the several sets of entries commonly known as the *Additamenta* and *Notulae*, and to clarify their relations to the Tripartite Life. Prof. MacNeill's views may be summed up as follows: Muirchu's Life of St. Patrick is prior to Tírechán's *Breviarium;* the latter may be dated as of ca. 700 A.D. The *Additamenta*

[1] The twelfth century texts hold a place of their own, see above p. 6.

[2] *The British tradition of St. Patrick's life. Proceedings R.I.A.* 40 C (1932), pp. 356-384

[3] E. Gwynn, *Book of Armagh. The Patrician documents.* Facsimiles in Collotype of Irish MSS. III (1937).

[4] *Analyse du Livre d'Armagh*, in *Anal. Boll.* LXII (1944), pp. 33-41.

[5] *Journal Royal Soc. Antiqu. Irel.* LVIII (1928), pp. 1-21; 85-101. LIX (1929), pp. 1-15. *Eriu* XI (1930), pp. 1-41. See also Rev. P. Walsh, *Recent studies on the Patrician documents*, in *Ir. Eccl. Record*, 5. ser., XXXIX (1932), pp. 232-242; P. Grosjean, *Thought* V (1930), pp. 28 ff.

ıp to fol. 17v inclusive) and the *Notulae* are also the work of Tírechán ; ıe former are materials collected after the compilation of the *Breviarium*, ıe latter are Tirechán's scheme for a recast of his work, which is identical ith the Tripartite Life in its original (Old Irish) form. The Leinster ccords, fol. 18r–v, were brought to Armagh by bishop Aed of Slébte ; ıe note concerning his visit to Armagh and the dedication to St. Patrick f his church (fol. 18v) is plausibly dated as falling shortly after A.D. 715. rof. MacNeill regards Aed also as the author of *Genair Pátraic* and ssumes that Muirchu is occasionally dependent on this poem.

To begin with the last-mentioned assertion, the most startling of all. xtensive interpolation in " Fiacc's " hymn—once a common creed of eltic scholars—is now considered as unlikely[1] ; the parallelism between ıe hymn and Muirchu's Life of St. Patrick was recognized already by ury ; the concluding section, dealing with Patrick's death, might indeed e the basis of Muirchu's Latin account, all the more so because no such ccount would appear to have been among Muirchu's hagiographical ources. The hymn as we read it would then be a " modernization " of me earlier poem. So much may be asserted by the historian and the agiologist ; the last word in this matter must be reserved to experts of ld Irish metrics and linguistics.

The priority of Muirchu in relation to Tírechán does not appear to e established beyond doubt. Much depends on the interpretation of Iuirchu's preface and of the opening section of Tírechán's *Breviarium*. he words of these writers admit of more than one interpretation.

Of the greatest importance is Prof. MacNeill's vindication as Tírechán's ork of the *Additamenta* and *Notulae*. To regard this material as reparations for a future work planned by this hagiographer means indeed decisive step forward. Still nearer to the truth appears to come P. rosjean, who sees in the *Additamenta* and related notes—those prefixed the *Breviarium* on fol. 9r, a and continued on the preceding page, v, b—part of Tírechán's " files," and in the *Notulae* the remains of his ıdex to these files.[2] Whether this work was ever completed and what ıay be its relation to the Tripartite Life in its present form we cannot ll for certain. From my own research, carried out along quite different nes, I have come to the conclusion that a Life of St. Patrick, partly in atin and partly in Irish, and on the whole resembling the Tripartite ife in form and content, must have existed early in the eighth century ; ut I am inclined to believe that Tírechán's *Breviarium*, together with ıe materials known to us now through the *Additamenta* and *Notulae*, ere incorporated in this text as they were found, with little interference

[1] See a.o. P. Grosjean, *Anal. Boll.* XLIII (1925), pp. 253 f.

[2] *Notes sur les anciens documents concernant Saint Patrice*, in *Anal. Boll.* LXII (1944), p. 42-73, esp. pp. 61 ff. I am not quite so sure about the existence of a collection entitled *Libri sancti Patricii* and comprising the saint's writings, the work of Tírechán and other texts relating to St. Patrick, which is envisaged by Père Grosjean, *ibid.* pp. 46 ff.

on the compiler's part. Detailed proof of my views has to be reserved for some future occasion.

With all this we are not yet at the root of the problem. As P. Grosjean remarks,[1] the real difficulty consists in having to account for the fact that the tradition concerning St. Patrick is really one in character, whilst there is no evidence or even probability of a very early document, embodying the framework that was adopted by all later writers, having been in existence. The work done by Bury, MacNeill, Miss Mulchrone, Père Grosjean and many others has been gradually paving the way to a solution of the riddle. It is becoming more and more apparent that the key to an understanding of many problems connected with the Latin Lives of St. Patrick has to be sought in the Tripartite Life. Many of the views held by prominent scholars may still have to undergo modification; but the final answer is at last beginning to take shape.

A Life of St. Secundinus has been indicated for the first time and published by P. Grosjean.[2] It is contained in the Bollandist collection MS. Brussels Bibl. Royale 8957–8958, fol. 25–27v, copied from a manuscript of Fr. Henry FitzSimon. It is a late text, a *Vita ex variis*; the Latin has a touch of humanism, but the style of earlier sources shines through. The author has in the main plundered Jocelin, but some details might be derived from an earlier source.

A fragment of the Latin Acts of St. Patrick in Connacht, with a Gaelic translation following the Latin original phrase by phrase, is preserved in the Irish Life of St. Benignus.[3] Strangely enough, this fragment has remained almost unnoticed; Kenney, in his account of the Lives of SS. Patrick and Benignus,[4] does not mention it at all. This fragment resembles in style the collections of Tírechán; its contents, however, are not indexed in the *Notulae*.

The accounts of visions seen by various persons (Knight Owen, George of Grissophan, Lawrence Rathold, a.o.) in St. Patrick's Purgatory belong to Irish vision literature rather than to the legend of St. Patrick and will therefore be passed over in this survey.

LUDWIG BIELER

(To be continued.)

[1] *Recent research on the Life of St. Patrick*, in *Thought* v (1930), pp. 22-41.
[2] *Anal. Boll.* LX (1942), pp. 26-34.
[3] Published by P. Grosjean, *Acta Sanctorum mensis Novembris* IV (1925), pp. 170-186.
[4] *Sources*, pp. 319-352.

BISHOP CHALLONER

BY DENIS GWYNN

WITH a private ceremony attended by scarcely a hundred people, the lead coffin containing the remains of Bishop Richard Challoner was solemnly interred in Westminster Cathedral on the afternoon of May 1, after being transported that day from the vault of the Barrett family at Milton, Berkshire, where it had lain since Challoner was buried there on January 2, 1781. The proceedings had to be kept private in view of the strict regulations against burials in London buildings, which on this occasion had been waived by special dispensation of the Home Office. But the small attendance included Cardinal Griffin, Archbishop of Westminster, and all the Archbishops and Bishops who had been assembled during the previous days in London for the annual meeting of the hierarchy in Low Week. And on the following day a solemn High Mass with full liturgy was sung in the cathedral in presence of the Cardinal and the hierarchy, while in the great sanctuary there were assembled all the canons of the five dioceses of Westminster, Southwark, Brentwood, Northampton and Portsmouth, which were all part of the London District over which Bishop Challoner presided as Vicar Apostolic in the eighteenth century. The occasion was made the starting-point of a movement, under official auspices, to prepare a petition to Rome for the beatification of the great bishop, who has for so long been known as "venerable," in grateful admiration of his supreme contribution to the life of the Catholic Church in modern England. A special prayer for his beatification was recited by Cardinal Griffin over his coffin before the re-interment was complete, and every effort will now be made to foster popular devotion to his memory.

Bishop Challoner occupies a quite unique place in the post-Reformation history of the Church in England. There were many famous and lovable figures in the resistance to Henry VIII and Elizabeth and their successors; and there have been many outstanding figures in the vivid period of revival during the nineteenth century. But Challoner was the central figure in the survival, rather than the revival, of the Catholic Church during its most hopeless period. The Catholic remnant had been reduced during his lifetime to proportions which seemed to make revival utterly unthinkable. Even survival seemed then to be only a matter of years. In spite of all his efforts and his personal inspiration and leadership, the number of Catholics declined still further during his lifetime, while the number of scattered Mass centres decreased disastrously. His own life was not even marked by dramatic incidents, and he died as unobtrusively as he had lived. He was never even imprisoned nor convicted in court, and the one attempt which was made to prosecute him collapsed owing

to the cupidity of the informer who had pursued him. He never had a house of his own in London, but his lodgings were well known and he was constantly beset by poor people asking his help and advice. Only occasionally did he have to retire into seclusion, when anti-Catholic outbursts arose, as they did during the Jacobite rising of 1745 and in the Gordon riots.

There was very little in Challoner's life to catch the public imagination, as there had been for instance in the life of his predecessor in the London District. Bishop Giffard had been suddenly brought into royal favour during the short reign of James II, who made him his own chaplain at the court, had him consecrated as a bishop in the royal palace of Whitehall, and then added to his honours by making him president of Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took up residence. Within a few years Bishop Giffard and the other three recently consecrated Vicars Apostolic were all either in jail or in hiding. For several years Bishop Giffard was a prisoner in Newgate and other prisons ; and after his release he had to move from house to house, changing his rooms often several times during the same week, before he settled down in his old age in the seclusion of a disguised convent at Hammersmith which enjoyed protection from the Portugese embassy. Challoner had met him first during those years when he was a hunted man, on the occasion of a brief visit to England while he was being trained at Douay. The old Bishop was still Vicar Apostolic when Challoner arrived in London in 1730 to start work as a missionary priest, and he was an inspiration to Challoner during all the fifty years of his life in London. Yet it is not Giffard but Challoner, living under much less disturbed conditions, whose memory has survived so clearly and whose coffin has now been brought to Westminster Cathedral —even in preference to Cardinal Wiseman.

Yet few Catholics in England, even among the clergy, could tell you much about him and his life's work. There is not even a biography of Bishop Challoner yet available, now that steps are being taken to petition to have him beatified. There had been no Life of him published since before the French revolution until the monumental two-volume survey of his life and times was published by the late Canon Burton in 1909. All through the nineteenth century the Challoner tradition remained unbroken, and he has always been known since his death in 1781 as the " venerable " bishop. But it was only by accident that even Canon Burton's attention was drawn to the study of him which resulted in his masterly biography. Among a pile of old books on a Holborn bookstall he came across what was obviously an early edition of the *Garden of the Soul*, dated 1741. He did not even know who compiled that most popular of prayer books, but investigation informed him that it was Challoner's work and that he had found a copy of the second edition. One sole copy of the first edition, published in 1740, still survives in the library at Ratcliffe

College, and Burton's discovery is the only surviving copy of the second edition. The popularity of the book increased gradually, and in time it was published also in Ireland and in America and in other English-speaking countries. It has been modified and abridged and expanded, until its modern editions bear scarcely any resemblance to the well-balanced and carefully planned manual that it was at first; yet it is almost certainly the most popular prayer book ever published in English, and it has fulfilled the purpose that Challoner intended and on a scale which he could never have imagined.

Fifty years have passed since Burton made that accidental discovery and became so much interested that he wrote for the Catholic Truth Society, which was then in its infancy, a biographical pamphlet about Bishop Challoner. For almost half a century that pamphlet has been practically the sole source of information for Catholic readers concerning Challoner. The pamphlet has not been often reprinted, and only this year it is being superseded by a new pamphlet specially written by Dr. Gordon Albion, the professor of history at Wonersh seminary. But Burton's first essay in biography led him on to much wider researches. Being a professor at St. Edmund's College, Ware, of which he later became president, he could enlist the co-operation of other seminaries, particularly Oscott and Ushaw, where eighteenth-century archives have been preserved. He had full access to the archives of Westminster and Southwark. Spending years on these searches, he unearthed an immense amount of material concerning Catholic life in England during the eighteenth century which had hitherto been unknown. There were letters from or to Challoner in many places, which revealed incidents and negotiations previously unheard of, and threw light on the fragmentary outline of his life which is contained in the short memoirs written by his contemporaries. Hence Burton's *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner* is much more than a biography; for it is a mine of documentary evidence discovered and edited by Burton himself. The book has been out of print for many years, and it is not now possible to obtain a copy even of the one-volume abridgement of Burton which was made by Mr. Trappes Lomax for Messrs. Longmans ten years ago.

That the tradition of Challoner's greatness and outstanding holiness should have remained alive so long, in spite of such lack of general information about him, is in itself an impressive testimony. Burton's researches, added to the other short memoirs available, have shown that the deep reverence for him was amply justified, and that his personal contribution to the survival of the Church in England was, humanly speaking, quite indispensable. Apart from Burton there are three main sources of information. Within a few years of his death a biography of Bishop Challoner was written by one of his priests, James Barnard, whom he had appointed as president of the English College in Lisbon. Barnard

was a devout convert, but certainly had no gift for biography, and his small book of nearly 300 pages is largely filled with quotations from Challoner's *Meditations for Every Day in the Year* by way of commentary on each detail of his narrative. But a good deal of fact can be disentangled from these pious observations, and the book contains particularly a detailed report of the legal proceedings before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield when the informer William Payne tried to convict a number of priests of exercising their ministry. Some fifteen years later Bishop Milner, who had been one of Challoner's young priests in the London District, wrote a short memoir for inclusion in a new edition of one of his controversial works. And nearly twenty years later again Charles Butler, the secretary of the laymen's Catholic Committee, wrote for a magazine a rather garrulous but sympathetic memoir containing his personal recollections. These three early memoirs, together with Burton's large volumes and supplemented by the Catholic Records Society's edition of the *Douay Diary*, which contains many references to Challoner during his years there, between them provide much more solid information than exists concerning many men whose names have been submitted for beatification.

The picture that emerges from them is of a man of most outstanding character and ability, intensely industrious and methodical, with a shrewd practical sense, entirely indifferent to personal interests, absolutely humble and full of charity and gentleness, yet capable of great firmness and even pugnacity when he was defending a cause. The range of public affairs with which he was concerned is quite astonishing ; for, besides the Catholics of the London District, he was also directly responsible for the Catholics on the mainland of America and in the West Indies. Yet in England the whole Catholic population of the London District, with which he was chiefly concerned, was estimated at barely 25,000 people ; and his reports to Rome never disguise the fact that he knew the Catholic remnant was steadily shrinking. Above all he knew that, with the gradual increase of apostasies among the old land-owning families, the number of Mass centres was sinking rapidly. The outlook must have seemed desperate when he came back to England as a man of forty and dedicated himself to trying to stem the tide and to fostering whatever vital factors could be revived. In spite of all his efforts, the decline still continued ; and in the very last year of his life, when there was a new cause for anxiety in the active anti-clericalism among the old land-owning families who had kept the faith alive, he saw London in flames during the Gordon riots and every Catholic chapel in the city destroyed or burnt out.

That briefly was the framework of his public life ; and the records reveal him as an organiser, administrator and negotiator of the highest gifts. But his principal achievement was much more personal. Neither diplomacy nor organising powers could have saved the Church in England from extinction during the eighteenth century, if they had not been

combined with a spiritual fervour which inspired not only his clergy but the scattered congregations who could not hope for regular contact with Catholic worship. The recollections of Challoner by his contemporaries all insist upon his unique quality as a preacher, which owed nothing to oratory or to literary gifts but was so inspiring because of the sheer holiness and radiant charity of the man himself. He was always preaching, in his gentle unobtrusive way, wherever he could find a secluded place in which even a handful of poor people could come and listen to him. Preaching, declared Bishop Milner in the panegyric which he delivered just after Challoner's death, while he was a young priest at Winchester, was " a duty he never omitted in the worst of times, while an obscure retreat was to be found to shelter his poor audience ; and indeed to such obscure retreats has he at certain times been driven, to comply with this essential obligation, that the Catacombs where the ancient Christians held their assemblies in times of persecution were elegant and commodious compared with them. But to conceive the force and the unction with which he announced the sacred word, or to form an idea of the fire which, through all the frost of age, then darted from his countenance and animated his weak and emaciated frame, you must have seen him and heard him on those occasions ; in short he was a quite different man, when seated in the chair of truth and charged with the interests of his divine Master, from what he was at every other time."

It was largely as a substitute for preaching that he became, with quite extraordinary results, a writer of devotional books and catechetical works. His writings not only served their immediate purpose with supreme efficiency ; they have been reprinted again and again, until Challoner stands out as a most unexpected portent among the biggest sellers of all time. Most Catholics, if they are asked who Bishop Challoner was, would probably think vaguely of him as the author of an old-fashioned work of piety called *Meditations for Every Day*, which has by now certainly qualified for inclusion among the classics which Oscar Wilde described as " books that everybody talks about and nobody reads ". But the *Meditations* were only one of the less important of Challoner's publications. It was he who produced the translation of the *Imitation of Christ* which every Catholic child has been taught to read. It was he, late in life, who revised the old Douay catechism and enlarged it into the Penny Catechism which became the standard book of Catholic instruction for generations in England and elsewhere. Above all, it was he who, single-handed and greatly daring, undertook the gigantic labour of producing an improved and modernised version of the old Douay Bible. Ask any Catholics at random have they ever seen a copy of Challoner's Bible, and the answer will quite probably be that they have never seen it. Yet Challoner's version is the translation which all of us have known from childhood which is embodied in page after page of every prayer-book and fixed in

our memories of quotations from either the Old or the New Testaments. His translation passed into popular use among Catholics in all English-speaking countries so completely that it may be quite seriously claimed that no other man has written anything in English that has been so extensively and so constantly used and quoted. But his translation of the Bible was only one incidental labour for Bishop Challoner, during perhaps five years of a life that was crowded with other occupations and cares. He undertook it simply because it was a job that somebody must do. As no one else with better qualifications than himself had either the courage or the capacity to attempt it, he took it in his stride as he had taken so many smaller undertakings of a similar kind.

His publications were in every case intended to meet a need. His first book, written shortly before he came back to England as a missionary from Douay, was a small volume of meditations called *Think Well On't.* He was still distributing copies of it, alike to rich people and poor, until long afterwards he superseded it himself by publishing his more comprehensive *Meditations for Every Day in the Year.* They, like all his writings, were planned most carefully to cover a definite range of subjects. Canon Burton describes the *Meditations* admirably when he writes: "He so arranges his subject matter that he blends a summary of Christian doctrine, both dogmatic and moral, with the cycle of mysteries commemorated on the chief festivals. . . . There is no effort at being original; no seeking after new points of view; no suggestion of new thoughts or subtle speculation. He is content to urge the old truths with apostolic directness and simplicity." A similar description would fit his *Garden of the Soul,* which in its original form is a delicately planned and balanced anthology of devotions. It was intended for the use of Catholics who might have to wait months or even years before they could take part in regular worship; but at the same time it was equally suitable and adequate for those who could attend Mass frequently and have access to the sacraments. His earlier writings, when he came back to London, were concerned chiefly with refuting false accusations against Catholics. Thereby he also provided manuals and pamphlets useful for those whose business it was to try and make converts. He showed such gifts as an apologist that he was soon appointed "controversial writer" to the chapter of the London District. But each book, even when he was expected to be controversial, was designed to meet some special need of the time. And besides all these works of instruction or devotion, he set himself to revive the memory of the martyrs of the reformation and to arouse devotion to the English saints whose liturgy had fallen into disuse through the impossibility of printing English supplements to the Missal and the Breviary during the centuries of persecution.

In sheer output alone, Bishop Challoner's writings are a most impressive monument to his piety and learning and apostolic zeal. But his output

is the more remarkable when one recalls the extremely narrow proportions of the Catholic community in his time and the difficulties and risks attending publication of Catholic literature. The London District was in many respects the most important of the four into which the Church in England had been divided during the reign of James II. The Western and the Midland Districts contained very few Catholics, scattered thinly at intervals around the places where old land-owning families still kept the old religion alive. They were most numerous in the Northern District, but it is doubtful whether the whole of England in the eighteenth century contained 100,000 Catholics altogether. Of these some 25,000 lived in the London District, which comprised ten counties and the Channel Islands. Roughly 20,000 lived in London itself, and nearly all of them were of the poorest class—many being immigrants from Ireland or from abroad. When Challoner was made coadjutor bishop in 1741, he immediately undertook a visitation of the whole District to give confirmations ; and he found then that in four or five of the ten counties (of which Kent was one) there were barely 100 Catholics still faithful. In such counties there would be only one priest, usually resident at some big Catholic house which kept its own chaplain, who ministered to any scattered families in the neighbourhood. In most parts of England, except for Lancashire and Yorkshire where the Catholic minority was still fairly considerable, conditions were very similar to these ten counties surrounding London. Apart from London, Catholic life was practically extinct in all the towns. It remained alive only in the large mansions, usually surrounded with wide estates which the land-owning Catholic families still retained.

It was these scattered communities who almost alone provided the audience that Challoner desired to reach with his devotional writings and whose courage and piety he was determined to sustain. It seems almost incredible in our day that any over-worked priest or bishop should have thought it reasonable to devote so much time to writing for so small a public ; or that any publisher should have been found to risk his capital and labour on producing books for so limited a sale. Moreover the publisher as well as the author took definite risks of prosecution by publishing even the most uncontentious Catholic prayer-book. Thomas Meighan, who was in business as a Catholic bookseller in Drury Lane, was the first of Challoner's publishers, and he had already been prosecuted for the less serious offence of distributing imported Catholic books. There were still laws on the statute book which forbade the use of Catholic prayer-books or objects of piety ; and from time to time these laws were still put into operation without warning. Houses would be raided on suspicion, after informers had collected enough evidence to compel the magistrates to act and give them a chance of earning their reward. Repeatedly, during Challoner's earlier years in London, such raids took

place and resulted in the confiscation of any Catholic literature found on the premises. Yet Meighan and a few other courageous Catholics still continued to sell them openly and even to publish new works of instruction or devotion or controversy.

In 1737, when Challoner had already become vicar-general for the London District, he published yet another book explaining the ceremonies of Catholic worship and the nature of the Mass. To this otherwise unoffending handbook Challoner added a preface and replied in it, with trenchant irony, to the recent work of Dr. Conyers Middleton, the librarian to Cambridge University, who had claimed that Catholic worship was pagan in its origins and in its forms. A few ironical sentences, which accused the Protestant Church of being by the same test even more idolatrous than the Catholics, brought Challoner most unexpectedly into collision with the penal laws. He had argued that "dead lions and unicorns" in the royal arms had in Protestant churches replaced the images of Christ; and his indignant opponent was able to represent this statement as clear proof of disaffection to the Crown. No one ever could tell when the dormant statutes might be suddenly invoked with all their ruthless penalties. In the thirties Challoner had found that priests like himself were able to publish books openly in London with comparatively little risk, and some of them had even held public debates with Protestant critics. Yet even thirty years later, in 1767, at a time when no other event or reason had aroused anti-Catholic prejudice, the informer Payne was able to bring the Irish priest John Baptist Maloney into court at Croydon and have him sentenced to imprisonment for life, solely because he confessed openly that he had ministered as a priest in England. Challoner himself had by that time been a bishop in London for nearly thirty years. The risk had been far greater when he was threatened with prosecution himself in 1737. The threat then involved Bishop Petre as well as himself, for he was vicar-general to the London District; and in the interests of all concerned he was prevailed upon to leave England until the storm blew over.

That experience would have discouraged most men from ever attempting to publish another book under such difficulties and for so small a public. But it was only the beginning of Challoner's systematic employment of writing as a main instrument of his apostolate. He was soon back in England; and when Conyers Middleton published a reply to his incriminated preface, Challoner re-issued the preface as a separate pamphlet, while going on to produce works of incalculably greater usefulness. Already he had formed a habit of devoting so many hours in every day to writing for publication, whether it was a new instalment of his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, or another meditation for his volume to cover the whole year, or a reply to some Protestant critic in his capacity as a controversial writer, or some more pages of translation from St.

Francis de Sales or St. Augustine, or another day's contribution towards his enormous labour in revising the Douay Bible.

His enforced retirement from England produced results which reveal the remarkable ascendancy Challoner had already acquired in London. Precise information concerning these critical years of his life is surprisingly hard to find. It is not known when he actually left England, or how long he had to stay abroad, or even whether he did go back to Douay, which would have been the natural place for him to choose. But the broad facts are clear beyond doubt. He had been vice-president of Douay under Dr. Witham for ten years before he returned to England in 1730; and when he had to leave England abruptly under threat of prosecution, Dr. Witham was an old man who knew that he would die soon. Challoner's departure from London seemed a heaven-sent opportunity to have him elected as the next President of Douay, where he had been so well known and where he had carried out the complete rebuilding of the College while he was vice-president. Dr. Witham accordingly applied at once to Rome, and the Papal Nuncio in Brussels was empowered to decide the matter, after consulting the four Vicars Apostolic for whom Douay had long been the main source of recruitment. With the sole exception of Bishop Petre, who dreaded the idea of losing Challoner from London, the bishops all expressed their approval, and Challoner was actually nominated as president before Dr. Witham died in the early summer of 1738. But Bishop Petre, who had come to rely upon him in every way, had flatly refused his consent, and he had still one last card to play. Writing to Rome at once to instruct his agent to raise every opposition he could to the confirmation of Challoner's appointment to Douay, he said in the plainest terms that, if Challoner was not sent back to London, he could not carry on without him. He applied at once to have him appointed as his own coadjutor. Better still, he insisted, would be to appoint Challoner as Vicar Apostolic for the London District in his own place; for he would resign gladly in Challoner's favour at any moment. In the last resort, if Rome insisted that Challoner must go to Douay, then the bishop begged to inform Propaganda at once that he would resign his post himself.

This threat of resignation, as an ultimatum, was so disorderly that even the bishop's agent in Rome replied with a gentle rebuke. But there could be no mistaking the sincerity of Bishop Petre's demand. Challoner himself, apart from his reputation at Douay, was quite unknown in Rome and he never once saw Rome in his very long life. But these simultaneous urgent demands for his services, as though no other man could possibly replace him, were a magnificent testimonial to his character. The Pope accepted Bishop Petre's desperate appeal and cancelled the nomination to Douay. And the bishop's formal application for him as coadjutor in London, which survives among the Westminster archives, reads almost like a prophecy of his extraordinary reputation and achievements in the

years that followed. If we knew nothing else of Challoner than that he had been fought for in this way by Douay and by the London District, it would be abundantly clear that he was a man of most outstanding gifts. But the immediate sequel throws further light on his character. Challoner had trained himself for years to spend a considerable part of the day in undisturbed spiritual meditation. In that spirit he had left entirely to divine Providence the decision of where his future years should be spent, and he had not even considered the question of being made a bishop. When the nomination came from Rome, as a result of Bishop Petre's strenuous protests and appeals, Challoner suddenly produced the objection that he was not even eligible for consecration. Almost all the English bishops had been members of the old land-owning class with a wide acquaintance among the closely inter-married families of the Catholic aristocracy ; and they nearly always possessed considerable private means, which enabled them to live without being dependent upon voluntary alms. Challoner had no such advantages, and he might easily have claimed that the lack of such influence and private means would make his position impossible as a bishop. But those were not the objections that he raised. His parents had been Presbyterians, and he had even been brought up as a Protestant until he was nearly thirteen, when his mother became a Catholic while working in a Catholic house as housekeeper to the Holman family at Warkworth. On that ground, of having been baptised and brought up in heresy, he declared his own disabilities.

A dispensation was of course granted by Rome after some delay, and it was only as bishop that Challoner began to make personal acquaintance with the aristocratic families who kept their own chaplains and provided Mass for the Catholic servants and tenants who lived around them. Some of the most important families in England lived in the London District ; and although the Duke of Norfolk's castle at Arundel was then in ruins, so that few Catholics lived there at this time, there were no less than 150 Catholic servants or retainers at Cowdray, where Viscount Montague had his enormous mansion with its spacious chapel and Holbein frescoes and its great picture gallery full of religious paintings. Challoner never lived among such surroundings, but his gentle charity and his fervour and learning made an immense impression in these old centres where the faith had been kept alive against so much discouragement. The Duke of Norfolk became the most constant and generous of his benefactors in the ceaseless works of charity which Challoner set on foot. But his normal life was centred entirely in London. There he lived till the end of his days in humble lodgings as a boarder with a devout Catholic lady, Mrs. Hanne. She changed her house whenever the informers came too hot on his tracks and took other premises for him and his chaplains. Always he lodged in the region of Bloomsbury, which was the chief centre for the poor Catholic working-class of those days. The city was still enclosed

by walls, and Park Lane was a country lane on its western outskirts ; and there was scarcely any considerable population south of the Thames. Visiting the sick in hospitals and the debtors in prisons, who looked to him to secure their release, and bringing consolation and relief to all who were afflicted or destitute, Challoner's daily life in London had very little in common with the leisured seclusion of the Catholic aristocracy. In London there could not be private chapels in great houses, and he said Mass or preached or gave Confirmation in the most obscure or neglected places behind locked doors.

His pastoral work and his writings, however, were by no means Challoner's whole contribution to sustaining the Catholic life of his age. He had to deal with chaotic conditions which required drastic reorganisation ; and as bishop in the London District, first as Bishop Petre's assistant and later as Vicar Apostolic himself, he had to conduct most of the intricate negotiations both in England and with Rome. There were two main difficulties for the bishops, once it became possible for them to perform their functions when the penal laws became relaxed after the turn of the century. For more than a hundred years there had been no bishop at all in charge of the English missions. The faith and worship had been kept alive by priests who acted as chaplains to the big houses where they found shelter ; and many of these priests were members of the great religious orders who received their appointment and their instructions direct from their own superiors, Benedictine or Jesuit or Franciscan or whatever they might be. Even when Challoner became coadjutor in 1741, there were many old Catholics who could remember the days when there was not even one Vicar Apostolic in England. Now there were four, and usually the older bishops had coadjutors also. But there were no parishes, and it had been recognised for many years that the families who provided chapels and maintained the clergy could appoint or dismiss their own chaplains. Cases arose fairly often where priests would be appointed of whom the bishop strongly disapproved, or others would be dismissed against his wishes. There was much overlapping and much deplorable, though scarcely avoidable, neglect. But when disputes arose or new appointments had to be made, the Vicars Apostolic were met with the further difficulty that they had no control over the priests belonging to religious orders.

To create order out of such chaos required supreme tact and firmness, and at Rome the religious orders had far more influence and vastly more experience than the Vicars Apostolic, in their narrow English surroundings, could possibly have. The controversy assumed a definitely acrimonious character and dragged on for years ; while Challoner, still only a coadjutor bishop, had to bear the full weight of the negotiations without being even known personally in Rome. His diplomacy prevailed completely, and in 1753 a definite constitution for the Church was decreed by the

Pope which settled all outstanding differences on the broad principles that the Vicars Apostolic had asserted. Thenceforward it became possible to consolidate and build up the framework of ecclesiastical organisation, at a time when the number of Mass centres was steadily declining. And it was urgently necessary that the authority of the bishops should be as undisputed as it had thus become, when the Jesuit college at St. Omer had to be preserved from extinction, when the Jesuits themselves were suppressed as a Society, and when under Challoner's firm guidance the English Colleges in Spain and at Lisbon were reconstituted and brought into line with the requirements of the time.

Challoner's relations with the Jesuits had been temporarily strained over the confiscation by the French Government of their college at St. Omer; for the Jesuits claimed that secular control of the college implied condonation of the confiscation of their property. But his sincerity and charity were such that no resentment against him could continue for long. When the Jesuits were suppressed as a Society, it created special problems; for the Jesuits had long provided a substantial proportion of all the priests working in England. Challoner showed his own sympathy and admiration for them at once by appointing their former English provincial to be his own vicar general for all Jesuits who were to continue serving under him as secular priests. But a much larger problem, directly concerning the Jesuits, had been weighing heavily upon him for many years. Preposterous though it seems now, the Vicar Apostolic of the London District was held responsible in Rome for the supervision of all priests and all Catholic affairs in North America, because it was an English colony. No one could even find any formal decree conferring that responsibility, and Challoner said so openly in his report to Rome when the question arose while he was working under Bishop Petre. But no other jurisdiction seemed possible, and Rome gave temporary confirmation of the authority of the Vicar Apostolic in London. Challoner did all in his power to discover how conditions stood on the other side of the Atlantic, but again and again he urged that a Vicar Apostolic should be appointed to supervise both the West Indies and the mainland. The problems of both were different. On the mainland the Catholics were centred chiefly in Maryland and Virginia, and the Jesuits conducted the missions there with admirable efficiency and devotion. They constantly ministered also to scattered Catholics across the borders of those two States. But for various reasons they were opposed to the appointment of a Vicar Apostolic in America, largely because such an appointment would arouse government opposition and disturb a situation which was already delicate and precarious.

The West Indies, on the other hand, had considerable Catholic populations, largely of Irish extraction and inter-married with the coloured natives since the deportation of Irish slave labour there by Cromwell. After generations of neglect, religious life was almost extinct in the islands,

ıd the isolated missionaries who had tried to settle on some of the islands ıd been compelled to give it up as hopeless. Challoner's acute sense responsibility made him inquire ceaselessly about the possibilities; ut his correspondence even with Rome was liable to be intercepted, and e urged repeatedly that some local authority should be created. When ome raised difficulties, he suggested that the mainland of America, where ıe Jesuits conducted matters very efficiently, might be left alone for the resent; but that the islands could at least be entrusted to an Irish icar or Prefect Apostolic. But the position was constantly changing, ıd he found that he was expected to supervise also the French islands cquired by England with the annexation of Canada, although the French ishop in Quebec was placed in charge of Newfoundland and adjacent rritory. Challoner's many letters to Rome on these matters, which anon Burton unearthed from the archives, show him in a most attractive ıd impressive light, never shirking responsibility, but protesting at the mpossibility of doing justice to what he was asked to do, emphasising ıe disproportion between his small district in England, which he had much difficulty in controlling, and the vast areas across the Atlantic which he could know so little. But Rome could not solve the problem ntil conditions in the new world had taken a clearer shape, and before halloner's death America had thrown off all allegiance to the British crown. nd it is not the least remarkable fact in his crowded life that, for years fter America had repudiated all obedience to the English crown, the merican Catholic clergy still took their orders and applied for dispensa-ons from the gentle English bishop in his lodgings in Bloomsbury, who ad striven for so long to persuade Rome that the time had come to lay ıe foundations of a separate national Church in America.

DENIS GWYNN

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE*

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part XVII

O'Toole, Brian, soldier. Son of Laurence O'Toole of Fairfield, Co. Wexford, by his second wife, Elizabeth Talbot of Ballinamona, Co. Wexford. (Laurence O'Toole, born in 1722, was an officer of the Irish Brigade in France and was the father of eight sons, all of whom were officers in the French service). After a short service in the Irish Brigade, Brian O'Toole left France in 1791 and joined the émigrés as an officer of Baron Hompesch's Hussars in the army of the French princes. He fought in the allied army against Revolutionary France and later passed into the English service with the seceding officers of the Irish Brigade. He subsequently served in Ireland during the 1798 Insurrection as a captain of Hompesch's mounted riflemen (the notorious Hessians), and he was present at the battles of Vinegar Hill and Ballinahinch. He died at Fairfield, Co. Wexford, on 27 February 1825. He was buried in the graveyard of Piercestown, Co. Wexford, where the monument to his memory states that his splendid military services were not unnoticed but were left unrewarded, " for he was a Roman Catholic ".

His eldest brother John also joined the Irish Brigade in France and rose to the rank of colonel. He was created a count and was reputed to be the handsomest man in Parisian society. He married Lady Catherine Annesley and died in Wexford in 1823. Another brother Laurence was also in the French service and settled in the French island of Bourbon, where he was a captain of the " troupes des Indes Orientales Francaises ".

The present representative of the O'Toole family in France, Count O'Toole, lives near Limoges.

O'Toole, Luke, soldier. Younger brother of preceding. An officer in the French army, he became aide-de-camp to His Royal Highness the Prince de Condé. During the Reign of Terror in 1793 he was guillotined. His young daughter, left without protection, was imprisoned at the same time in Paris and died in jail.

A kinsman and namesake, Captain Luke (Lucius) O'Toole of Kildare, was an officer of Dillon's corps in the French service (he was described as " the finest man in his regiment "). He was one of the three Irish

* Mr. Eoin O'Mahony, K.M., has called my attention to a typographical error in a former article of this series—*i.e.* in the issue of September 1945. As the present representatives of the O'Mahony family in France are descendants of Count Bartholomew O'Mahony and not of Count John Francis O'Mahony, the last paragraph in the notice of Count John Francis (p. 380) should have been incorporated in the notice of Count Bartholomew (p. 378).

ficers selected by Sir Charles Wogan in 1719 to accompany him to nsbruck to procure the escape of the Princess Clementina, who had een selected as bride for James III. On returning to France after the ccessful enterprise the honour of knighthood was conferred on O'Toole y James III, and he resumed his former post in Dillon's regiment. As ptain of grenadiers he was killed in the battlefield of the Moselle in the st action between the French troops and those of the Emperor Charles VI.

O'Toole, William, soldier. Born in 1745 at Edermine, Co. Wexford. s brother of Laurence O'Toole of Fairfield (*See* O'Toole, Brian), he as uncle of the latter's eight sons, all of whom were officers in the French rmy. At first an officer in Berwick's Irish regiment he passed later into at of Dillon's, of which he was lieutenant-colonel in 1791. In that year any Irish royalist officers left the French army, but O'Toole remained n his adopted country and fought in the Revolutionary army against the rces of monarchic Europe. Holding the rank of general of brigade, he ok part in the French expedition to the coast of Wales in February 797 after the failure of the Hoche attempt to land in Ireland. The xpedition was commanded by a Wexford man named Tate, who called imself an American and held a commission as general in the French rmy. O'Toole was captured after landing at Fishguard, but was returned France as a prisoner of war. He died in the following year.

Parker, John, soldier. Born *circa* 1650. Descended from a family ng settled in Ireland, he was the son of William Parker (a physician ho graduated in medicine at Bourges in France). John Parker adopted military career and was in the French service from 1676 till 1689, during hich he was wounded at the battles of Maestricht and Philipsburg. In 689 he accompanied James II to Ireland and was colonel of a cavalry giment at the Boyne and Aughrim. He subsequently became an active gent abroad in Jacobite conspiracies and was described by Burnet, a ntemporary historian, as employed in France " in many black designs ". e was arrested in London in 1693 on the charge of being involved in a lot to assassinate William III. He escaped to France however, was eclared an outlaw with £5,000 on his head, and in the following year as re-arrested in London, sent to the Tower, but once more escaped. n 1702 indiscreet talk at Saint Germain-en-Laye lost him the friendship f Queen Mary of Modena and, by order of Louis XIV, he was confined the Bastille for two years. (In a letter he himself says that he was nprisoned there for four years). On his release his pension from the rench court was restored, but he was forbidden to approach the Jacobite urt at Saint Germain. He settled on a farm at Montargis in central rance, where he experienced much privation. There is a considerable umber of his letters in the Stuart MSS., written at various periods up

to December 1718. In them he complains of his ill-fortune—he states that he lost his rank in the French service, his command of the King's regiment of horse, and that he was forced for bread to sell the necessities he possessed.

PATTERSON, ELIZABETH. Daughter of William Patterson, a native of Fanad, Co. Donegal, who emigrated to America, where he became a merchant and banker at Baltimore. She was born in that city in 1785 and became famous for her beauty. In 1803 she married Jerome Bonaparte, Napoleon's youngest brother, when as a young naval officer he visited the United States. Napoleon refused to recognise the marriage, and Pope Pius refused to annul it, but the former quashed it by an imperial edict. In 1807 Jerome became king of Westphalia and married the Princess Catherine of Wurtemberg. Napoleon granted Elizabeth Patterson a pension of 60,000 francs and, after his abdication, she settled in France where her relations with the Bonaparte family were cordial. The legitimacy of her son by Jerome was recognised by Napoleon III, but right to succession was disallowed. One of her grandsons became an officer in the French army. She died in 1879.

PIERS, JAMES, ecclesiastic. Son of Sir Henry Piers of Tristernagh, Co. Westmeath (a convert to Catholicism). James Piers was educated at Bordeaux, where he pursued a course of ecclesiastical studies and graduated a doctor of divinity. He was subsequently appointed royal professor of philosophy in the Aquitanick college at Bordeaux. He was author of *Ad majorem Dei gloriam, Beataeque Virginis Mariae . .* (Bordeaux 1631) and of *Disputationes in Universam Aristotelis Stagiritae Logicam* (Bordeaux 1635). There is a copy of the latter work in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

PLUNKET, BRIGIT MARY. *See* CHATELLUX, MARQUISE DE.

PLUNKET, ELIZABETH, relative of preceding. During the French Revolution she was a zealous royalist at Arras in north-eastern France where she resided with her mother. In December 1791 she played a leading part among the women of that town in preparing an address to Louis XVI thanking him for vetoing the decree which had been passed regarding the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. In August 1792 she was arrested, tried as an aristocrat and counter-revolutionary but was acquitted after a confinement of six months in prison. Re-arrested on 7 February 1793 she was arraigned before the local revolutionary tribunal. She had prepared a written defence in which she maintained that no law against her alleged crime was in force at the time of its committal that the other signatories of the address in the town of Arras had not

been prosecuted, and that she was condemned beforehand. She was again led before the revolutionary tribunal and found guilty of " having prepared and circulated an address in which the traitor Capet was congratulated on having opposed his veto regarding the oath for priests ". The notorious terrorist Le Bon had at the time established a régime of blood at Arras, and in his presence she was guillotined on 13 June 1794. The official reporter of the tribunal's proceedings, writing on her trial, stated : " Two days ago I had fears that the guillotine was growing rusty. The events of to-day and yesterday have, however, dissipated them. Ten accused have been dealt with, among whom was Elizabeth Plunket, a wretch animated with such anti-revolutionary sentiments that it is impossible to describe them, and the equal of whose impudence I have never experienced."

Plunket, Patrick Joseph, ecclesiastic. Born at Kells, Co. Meath, on 24 December 1738. Son of Patrick Plunket and Mary Murphy. In his youth his father had him articled to a Dublin merchant in order to evade the law against the foreign education of Catholics, and in 1752 he proceeded to France apparently on mercantile business, but in reality to prosecute his studies for the Church. In Paris he was educated at the college of Trente-trois and, after a distinguished course, was ordained a priest in 1764. He then took the degree of doctor of divinity in the Sorbonne and was appointed professor and superior of the Collège de Navarre. In 1778 he was recommended to the vacant see of Meath by the archbishop of Paris and the court of France, and was consecrated at Paris in February 1779. He was presented with an episcopal outfit and a library by a French aristocratic family (to whom he had been almoner) as a token of respect and esteem. The vessel on which he set sail for Ireland was captured by the famous privateer Paul Jones. His luggage, vestments and books were seized, but afterwards, through the good offices of Dr. Franklin the American minister at Paris, they were restored to him. Having returned to Ireland after twenty-seven years residence in France, he functioned as bishop of his native diocese till his death on 10 January 1827.

Another distinguished Irish ecclesiastic of the time—a native of the diocese of Elphin—was the abbé John Plunket. In 1744 he was professor of theology at the Collège de Navarre in Paris. Later he was Grand Vicar of the French capital and he has been described as " an eminent moral divine and casuist ". He was chief author of the theological and didactic part of the " Pastorale Parisiense " or Paris ritual, which was in high estimation about the year 1760. He remained professor at the Collège de Navarre up to the eve of the Revolution, and he bequeathed a burse for the education of Connacht students at the Irish College in Paris.

POWER, FRANCIS, ecclesiastic. Born at Clonmel *circa* 1740, he was the son of Thomas Power M.D. of that town (who possessed a property near Avignon in France). He was educated at Paris, where he was ordained a priest. He became a canon of the diocese of Avignon and later archdeacon there. The troubles of the Revolution compelled him to return to Ireland. He was appointed first vice-president of Maynooth college and was lecturer in French for some years in that institution. He died in 1817. His brother Edmund, born at Clonmel on 3 May 1734, entered the Jesuit Order and died in France in 1779. Two other brothers, Peter and John, were officers in Dillon's regiment of the Irish Brigade, while an uncle, James Canon Power, was chaplain to the French ambassador at Rome. (A namesake of the latter—James Power, who was born in Ireland on 27 March 1725—joined the Jesuit Order in France in 1742 and was professor of philosophy at Paris. Described as " a highly gifted scholar and very profound mathematician," he died at Liége Academy in 1788).

POWER, JOHN (9th LORD POWER *de jure*), soldier. Only son of Pierce Power of Monalargie, Co. Waterford, and Eleanor Power of Gurteen in the same county. He held the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of Lord Kilmallock (Dominick Sarsfield) during the Jacobite war in Ireland, after which he was attainted and outlawed. Retiring to France, he became in 1694 colonel of the regiment of Dublin in the French service and fought for his adopted country in the campaign which ended with the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. In 1698 his regiment was incorporated with that of Albemarle's, in which he served as colonel on half-pay. The Registers of Saint Germain-en-Laye (Lart) contain entries of the births of several of his children (by his wife Catherine Eustace) from 1695 to 1702. In April 1723, as peer of the kingdom of Ireland, he made a declaration at Paris regarding certificates for naturalisation in France, in which he stated that it was useless to try to obtain such in Ireland, as the Catholic registers were burnt, and that this deprived Catholics of all their title deeds concerning their property and goods. He died at Paris on 20 August 1725.

In 1743 George Waters and Richard Quain, two Irish bankers in Paris, sent a power of attorney to Dublin acting for Power's two daughters (Charlotte and Clare), nuns in a French convent, who sought to obtain the means left by their father. In 1717 his cousin, Lady Catherine Power, contracted a marriage with a member of the Beresford family, by which the latter obtained the title of Barons of Curraghmore.

POWER, SERAPHIM, ecclesiastic. Born at Limerick in the early years of the eighteenth century. Going to France to pursue a course of ecclesiastical studies, he became a discalced Carmelite at an early age.

He made his noviceship at Toulouse, where there was a monastery of the order. Having finished his studies at Bordeaux, he was ordained in that city and was affiliated to the province of Aquitaine, which prevented his return to Ireland. He was appointed provincial of Aquitaine and also taught in the Teresian schools of philosophy and theology for thirty-six years. Various popes repeatedly offered him the highest ecclesiastical honours, which his humility prevented him from accepting. He died at Bordeaux in 1776. A man of outstanding sanctity, the question of his beatification was discussed for some time after his death. In view of this his tomb was sealed by the archbishop of Bordeaux, and this action was also considered necessary to prevent the faithful, who regarded him as a saint, from removing portions of the remains. The French Revolution upset the hopes and intentions of the discalced Carmelites of France regarding his beatification.

QUELY. *See* O'QUELY.

QUINN. *See* O'QUINN.

REDMOND, GABRIEL (CHEVALIER), soldier. Second son of John Redmond of Killygowan, Co. Wexford, where he was born in 1713. Emigrating to France he joined Rothe's regiment of the Irish Brigade as a cadet in November 1734. His active campaigning began in the War of the Austrian Succession, at the outbreak of which he was lieutenant of his corps. His first engagement was in 1743 at Dettingen, where the French were defeated. In the following year he was at the sieges of Menin, Ypres and Furnes, and in 1745 he was at Fontenoy. Soon afterwards he formed one of a number of distinguished Irish officers (Count Edward Rothe, Brigadier-General Richard Talbot, Sir Peter Nugent, &c.) who were captured at sea on their way to Scotland to assist Prince Charles Edward. Having escaped back to France, he received promotion to the rank of aide-major and as such took part in the victory at Lauffelt in 1747. During the Seven Years War his regiment, with those of the remainder of the Irish Brigade, was in 1759 mobilised on the coast of Brittany for a descent on Ireland. The overwhelming defeat, however, of the French fleet on the eve of departure ended a project on which the Irish Jacobites in France had placed high hopes. Ordered with his regiment to the German front, he was so severely wounded at Marburg in 1761 that he was forced to retire from active service, and he was pensioned in 1766. He settled at Armentières near Lille and died soon after the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789.

His only son Henry was born at Armentières in 1765 and was captain in Dillon's regiment at the outbreak of the Revolution. Royalist in his sympathies, he left France, joined Pitt's English-Irish Brigade in 1794 and, like many others of its officers, died of fever in Jamaica.

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Michael Redmond, brother of Chevalier Gabriel, was born on 29 September 1729, at Killygowan, Co. Wexford. Emigrating to France he became a cadet in Rothe's Irish regiment in 1750. After some time he left the French for the Austrian service, in which he became adjutant to an illustrious compatriot, General Baron Thomas Plunket. He returned later to the French army from which, owing to ill-health, he retired on pension in 1774.

Redmond, John (Chevalier), soldier. Son of Sir Peter Redmond of Shelborne, Co. Wexford, and Anne Parker, he was born in 1709 at Lisbon where his father, a merchant and prominent Jacobite, had settled. The Chevalier John Redmond was in his twelfth year when his family migrated from Lisbon to Paris in 1721. Adopting a military career he was admitted in 1730 into the Mousquetaires de la Garde du Roi—a corps d'élite of the royal household of France. Soon afterwards he served in the German field of the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1738). Before its end he purchased a company in the cavalry regiment of Rumain, in which he held the rank of captain. In 1737 he visited Ireland—it was a period when many Irish officers came to and fro between it and France to recruit for the French army and to discover the strength of the Jacobite party. In the War of the Austrian Succession he showed himself of outstanding valour and resource, and he is described in the French war archives as an officer of " great intelligence and great will ". He was promoted to the rank of brigadier in 1748 and, in the following year, to that of lieutenant-colonel. He went through the Seven Years War with additional distinction, firstly in Germany and later in Brittany. In the latter place the victory of St. Cast, where the English were driven back to their ships with heavy loss, was due to his initiative and bravery. After several years' service in Brittany, where he co-operated with his compatriot Colonel Richard Warren (*See* Warren, Richard) in defending the coast against English attacks, he was transferred to Paris and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. When the Seven Years War ended in 1763 he again visited Ireland and returned with the pedigree of his family. Having furnished the necessary proof of noble birth he was made a Chevalier of the Order of Saint Lazare. He died unmarried at Paris on 23 November 1778 in his seventieth year. One of his sisters was married to Count James Nugent, colonel-proprietor of the cavalry regiment of his name in the Irish Brigade.

Richard Hayes

WILLIAM HENRY TONE

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL P. R. BUTLER, D.S.O.

AMONG the many Irish names which figure with distinction in accounts of the early days of European military adventuring in India, none, if we except George Thomas (the Tipperary-man from Roscrea, who carved for himself a principality amid the warring factions of late eighteenth-century Hindustan), ranks higher than that of William Henry, the younger brother of Theobald Wolfe Tone.

When in 1778, at fourteen years of age, William was apprenticed to a leading Dublin bookseller, he took advantage of the opportunity which that post afforded him to indulge a passion for reading, especially the reading of any books of travel and adventure on which he could lay hands. Two years later he ran away to London and enlisted for service with the East India Company's Army in India.

At that period, however, as for a long time afterwards, the dominions over which the H.E.I.C. held sway included the island of St. Helena; and William Tone, greatly to his disappointment—for he had no mind to waste some of the best years of his youth on a remote and barren rock—was shipped off by the Board of Directors in London to join its garrison. Amid these uncongenial surroundings (not for another thirty-five years was St. Helena to be Napoleon's prison) he passed the years 1781 to 1786, until, late in the latter year, he managed to return to Ireland.

Those were difficult six years, as Herbert Compton reminds us in his *Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan* (quoting the Wolfe Tone *Memoirs*), for a young man to endure and from which to emerge untarnished. The St. Helena garrison, at the time, was composed of the Company's worst troops, badly disciplined and officered. Yet emerge untarnished from such surroundings the young man did; and he had even managed, while passing the days of his long sojourn, so to cultivate his mind by study that when, after a separation which has lasted for eight years in all, he once more met Theobald in London, the latter was agreeably impressed by him. He found him, says Compton, "with the manners of a gentleman and a considerable acquaintance with the best parts of English literature". William showed his brother the poetry which he had written during his exile, and which the brother found "very elegant". Their author he described as "a handsome, well-made man with a good address, still determined on following a military career, and a general favourite".

The next six years were spent in Ireland, England and on the Continent, but we have no details with regard to them. That unfortunate law-suit over the family property in which their father had for so long been

involved having brought about the old man's ruin, William Tone, with his brother's approval, resolved to try again to make his career in India. He once more entered the East India Company's service ; and the end of 1792 found him at Madras. Here he served for a while with a sepoy regiment, the colonel of which, who evidently formed a high opinion of his capabilities, sent him by sea to Calcutta with despatches, the bearer also of letters of introduction to certain influential personages who might put him in the way of obtaining employment with one of the native states. Of that voyage we know nothing beyond the fact that the sepoy troops on board his ship having mutinied and formed a project of taking her into one of the coastal ports *en route*, Tone quelled the mutiny, for which service he was rewarded, on arrival at Calcutta, with a sum of a thousand rupees.

Calcutta at that time was full of French Jacobin adventurers (England and France were not, at the moment, at war) seeking preferment with the powerful native rulers. One of these adventurers was a person named Marigny, assistant to the celebrated Monsieur Raymond, who commanded the Nizam of Hyderabad's army and who had come to Calcutta to purchase munitions for his master. Marigny procured for Tone an appointment in the Nizam's service, and promised him the command of a battery of artillery on their arrival at Hyderabad. If this was not quite the sort of employment which his colonel at Madras had envisaged for the young man, it was not unusual, for the British authorities in Calcutta were fully alive to the desirability of balancing the influence of French officers at the Southern Indian courts with their own adherents.

In due course Tone reached the Nizam's capital, and was shortly followed by Marigny. All seemed to be going well, and the Irishman was settling down to his new career as captain in the Hyderabad service, when a quarrel broke out between Marigny and Raymond in which Tone, " with an honourable indiscretion " as Compton puts it, " sided with his friend ". Marigny was put in irons, and Tone only narrowly escaped a like indignity. In the meantime, war having broken out between France and England, all prospects of his advancement in the Nizam's service were at an end ; for the European officers who were his comrades were mostly Frenchmen.

Having tendered his resignation to the Nizam, Tone set out again for Calcutta, this time by land, a distance of some six hundred miles. Somewhere in the province of Orissa he halted to shoot in a neighbouring jungle, leaving his baggage and horses in charge of his native servants ; and in his absence his camp was attacked by dacoits, who killed some of his men, plundered his baggage, and captured one of his horses. Appearing in the nick of time, Tone ran up and fired at his assailants, mortally wounding one of them, but himself being shot in the foot by another, which enabled the remainder to escape. Fortunately for himself, Tone still possessed one horse and, despite his injury, managed with indomitable

courage to perform the rest of this long journey, two hundred miles through an inhospitable country and in the height of the Bengal hot weather.

In Calcutta he gradually recovered health and strength. He had all his countrymen's genius for making friends, and the new ones he so speedily acquired, added to those who remained from his earlier visit, now stood him in good stead. Major Palmer, in particular, the newly-appointed British Resident at the court of the Peshwa at Poona, proved his faithful ally. Together they set off—Tone, according to Compton, " being in high health and spirits "—for this distant place, at which Palmer had promised him military preferment.

So far Compton has relied on the Wolfe Tone *Memoirs*, as edited by the son, for such details as he has gleaned of William's history. From other sources he learned that the latter arrived at Poona some time in 1796, being then aged thirty-two, and was given a colonel's commission in the corps commanded by an American adventurer named Boyd (who also has his niche in the temple of soldiers of fortune of those tempestuous days). Two years later—the date being 1798—he was appointed by the Peshwa's brother to command a brigade of infantry which, officered entirely by British subjects, was to act as a counterpoise to that very force in the Nizam's service, commanded by Raymond, which with he had served before and which was officered by Frenchmen. The idea was, however, abandoned ; and in 1801 we find Tone, in command of a force of two hundred sepoys, fighting for a person called Lakwa Dada, who had rebelled against Sindhia, at the defence of Soundra.

This time Tone was very much on the losing side, for the enemy was no less than the army of the Mahrattas, commanded by the French general Perron, successor to the great de Boigne. Perron, who, like his famous predecessor, could do things in the grand manner, behaved very kindly to Tone and his officers—" supplying them," Compton tells us, " with a handsome camp equipage, such as tents, camels, horses, etc." To Colonel Tone he offered a commission in Sindhia's army, which offer was courteously declined, principally because of Sindhia's increasing hostility to the ever-advancing British (who in two years, under Lake and Wellesley, were to overthrow him and against whom Tone had no desire to serve). Sindhia enabled him to retire to Holkar's capital, there to remain, and furnished him with ten thousand rupees for his expenses and to enable him and his companions to recover their shattered fortunes.

But William Tone did not live long to recover any fortunes ; for the following year (1802), being again engaged in warfare, he met a soldier's death at the early age of thirty-eight, being killed by a stray bullet in an action near Maheswur, while serving under Holkar.

Overshadowed, of course, by the fame of his great brother, William is little known except to those who have made a study of those intrepid soldiers of fortune whom Ireland, like her sister-isle, sent in such numbers to

India in the early days of British penetration. But, to those who have made the study, enough has been disclosed to make them wish they knew more of an attractive and accomplished character. William evidently cultivated to the end his taste for literature, no easy matter in his circumstances and surroundings ; and every now and then, in the pages of India's nineteenth-century historians, we come on eulogistic references to his attainments. A work from his pen, *Illustrations of some Institutions of the Mahratta People* (published in Calcutta in 1818), has frequently been quoted by writers on Indian matters, notably by Grant Duff, who, in his great *History of the Mahrattas*, refers appreciatively to the work of Tone. " I have examined minutely," he says, " all which this intelligent gentleman wrote respecting the Mahrattas. What he saw may be relied upon : as to what he heard, I am less surprised that he should have fallen into error than that he should have obtained information so nearly correct. "

And Lewis Ferdinand Smith, historian *par excellence* of the European military adventurers of Hindustan (to whom Compton acknowledges his indebtedness), though he deals less with the part of India in which Tone fought than with the more northern provinces, describes him as " a man of undaunted valour and persevering enterprise ; an unfortunate gentleman whose ability and integrity were as great as his misfortunes were undeservedly severe." He calls the *Institutions* " both elegant and accurate".

P. R. Butler

REVIEWS

Biography

ACTON : The Formative Years. By Most Rev. Dr. David Mathew. London : Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1946. 10s. 6d.

The Victorians gain in stature as the years go by, and Lord Acton was not least among the Victorians. Archbishop Mathew has been working for many years on a full-dress biography of Acton, but gives us little more in this first volume than an attractive study of the European background against which the future historian's early life must be set. " It was a setting," as he shrewdly comments, " which was hardly likely to have yielded a great Liberal historian."

It would be difficult to over-praise the first chapters of Dr. Mathew's book. He opens very skilfully with a scene in the coach that carried Acton's grandfather (a future Minister of the Neapolitan court in the era of the French Revolution) and young Edward Gibbon (the future historian of the Decline and Fall of a great empire) on the road from Pisa to Leghorn. Acton's great-grandfather came of a line of Shropshire squires—" Cavalier and resolutely Tory ; High Churchmen, perhaps Non-jurors." He was of the younger branch, sought his fortune as surgeon in France, married a French wife and became a Catholic at Besançon. This was in the middle of the eighteenth century, and Dr. Mathew notes that in this most dismal period of English Catholic history, when family after family was slipping from its ancient loyalty under pressure of the Penal Laws, the representative of the senior line became a Catholic in Shropshire in defiance of these same laws. Young Gibbon, as all the world knows from his *Autobiography*, went through a transient phase of conversion to the ancient faith, and Dr. Mathew is probably right in suggesting that the example of his kinsman, Sir Richard Acton, may have had something to do with this conversion.

Such an ancestry suggests uncommon strength of character, and Lord Acton was to show uncommon strength of character in youth, in middle age and in his later years. But this Shropshire strain is only one of many diverse strains that went to make a man who was less than half an Englishman by race, though English traditions and the English way of life counted for more and more in his values as life went on. The most brilliant and satisfying chapters in Archbishop Mathew's book are those which depict the cosmopolitan life at Naples, whither Acton's grandfather had migrated in 1778. The Queen of Naples was sister to Marie-Antoinette, and General Acton became her favourite Minister, being given the task of reorganising the Neapolitan fleet in support of her over-ambitious policies. All these fine schemes, in which Nelson for a time played his part in romantic circumstances, crashed to the ground in 1798 when a joint Anglo-Neapolitan invasion of Central Italy ended in disaster and the proclamation of a " Parthenopoean Republic " at Naples. The King, the Queen and the whole court, including General Acton, were forced across the Straits into Sicily, where Acton's father was born soon after this misadventure.

So the story goes on. Acton's father (Sir Richard, for the title had passed to the younger branch in 1791) married a great German heiress, who was the only child of Emerich Josef Franz Heinrich Felix Dismas, Baron and Duke of Dalberg and Chamberlain of Worms. Her great-uncle had been Karl Theodor Anton Maria, Elector of Mainz and Primate (under the Napoleonic regime) of the Confederation of the Rhine. Dr. Mathew is at home in all this old-world milieu of an aristocratic Europe, which looked to Metternich in Vienna and to the more distant Czar of Russia as the main props of their ordered and stately social world. Nothing less like Gladstonian liberalism could well be conceived. Yet there is no understanding

Lord Acton's European outlook without some appreciation of this half-German, half-Italian background into which he was born.

The connection with Gladstonian Liberalism came through his mother's second marriage with Lord Leveson, the eldest son of Lord Granville (to whom he succeeded in 1846) who was British ambassador in Paris at the time of the marriage. The Leveson-Gower family was one of the great Whig families of England, and this marriage gave young Acton a home in Bruton Street and intimate contact with some of the most influential Whig statesmen of Great Britain. His mother was throughout her life a devout Catholic, and his stepfather's sister was a celebrated English convert of this period, Lady Georgiana Fullerton. These influences account for the choice of Oscott (where Wiseman was President) as the school in which young Sir John Acton learned his lessons as a precocious school-boy. They explain also the choice of Dr. Döllinger's house in Munich as a substitute for Cambridge, from which Acton found himself excluded by strong anti-papal prejudices at a time when Tractarian controversies had stirred these smouldering fires to new heat.

Dr. Mathew's account of the six years that Acton spent with Döllinger, as guest rather than as pupil, is less satisfying than the rest of this very readable volume. He notes, for example, that the professor kept a large lithograph of the Frankfurt Diet in his drawing-room, but does not tell his readers that Döllinger was himself a member of that Diet at the very time when Acton came to him in 1848. Nor does he tell us that Döllinger had been a member of the Bavarian Landtag for four years before the revolution of 1848, and had lost his Chair of Church History and Canon Law in the University of Munich owing to his opposition to the court intrigues of the King's half-Irish favourite, Lola Montez. Döllinger was indeed a very notable figure in German Catholic circles at this crisis, and his table-talk must have been most stimulating for a young boy who was beginning to get his first lessons in European politics. Rumours were abroad at the time that the professor would probably be elevated to some important German episcopal see; but the boldness of his stand for freedom, the limited constitutional freedom that was the ideal of the Frankfurt deputies, seems to have lost him his opportunity.

Those who have read Acton's essay on "Nationality," or his letters during the Austro-Italian crisis of 1859-60, will know how deep were his suspicions of the new doctrine of national sovereignty which English statesmen were then propounding as the universal panacea for continental unrest. Acton never wavered in his view that the test of good government is always and everywhere the treatment accorded to minorities within the state; and he had always a well-grounded fear of the tyranny that could so easily be masked under the guise of national democracy. Metternich's system in Austria had collapsed like a house of cards no more than a few months before Acton's arrival in Munich; but the astonishing recovery of the next few months made a deep impression on all Europe and was nowhere more attentively observed than in neighbouring Catholic Bavaria. Here again Acton's six years in Munich must have done much to strengthen convictions that were to remain with him to old age. Soon after his Munich period, the young historian published an essay on "Political Thoughts on the Church" which should be read by all who wish to appreciate the strength of this German, or perhaps Bavarian element in his education. He speaks in that essay of "the predisposition for Christianity of that race (the German race) to whose hands its progress seems for ever committed". In justice to Acton it should be remembered that these words were penned in 1858, when Bismarck had not yet transformed the old-fashioned Germany that Acton had known before 1870 into the most efficiently successful, but not the most Christian of our modern national states.

Two other points seem to call for comment in this section of Dr. Mathew's book, for there is no understanding Acton's thought without full appreciation of

hese early formative years in old Bavaria. Dr. Mathew insists that Döllinger's nterests " lay far from that new German learning which was to exercise so deep n influence upon Great Britain " ; and he would have us believe that " during the ong period of his training, the German writers in especial would reach John Acton t second hand ". Here I feel quite sure that Dr. Mathew has been led astray by a ose chronology. He cites a well-known passage from Acton's essay on " Döllinger's Historical Work " to prove that the German historian had gone first to the great talian and French scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for his own raining in the science of historical criticism. This is true enough ; but it is also rue that Döllinger had been reading steadily for a full quarter of a century before Acton's visit to Munich. Ranke's *Geschichte der Päpste* appeared in 1834-6 and his *Geschichte Deutschlands im Zeitalter der Reformation* in 1839-43. Döllinger replied o this latter work in three volumes which appeared during the years 1846-7-8, mmediately preceding Acton's visit. It is quite inconceivable that the young English tudent, who was throughout life an all-devouring reader, should not have read for imself all that the great Prussian master had to say on topics that were so very nuch the centre of his own personal interests. A few years later he was to speak n language which makes plain how deeply he had been impressed by the superior echnique of the new historical schools. " Before this," he wrote in 1861, " historical ontroversy was nonsense, for the materials were imperfect and the method did not xist. There is as great a difference between history now and in Gibbon's time s between the astronomy before Copernicus and after him." That is not the anguage of a scholar who has been trained on the older traditions of France and taly.

Again, I think it is important to stress the fact that these six years during which Acton was a guest in Döllinger's house were the years during which the master vas himself coming more and more under the influence of the new scientific schools f Northern Germany. Later in life Döllinger was accused by his German fellow-Catholics of " preferring the University to the Hierarchy ". That is not altogether fair statement of the position. Döllinger, like Leibniz in an earlier century, was vorking with a false optimism for an ideal of Christian reunion which he had ersuaded himself could come most easily through an open-minded and fearless nvestigation of past history. Pusey and Newman and Gladstone were all in touch vith the Munich professor in these years, and the " Second Spring " of Newman's ermon gave promise of conversions abroad as well as in England. These hopes vere doomed to disappointment. The bitterness shown by both Döllinger and Acton in the 'sixties and 'seventies, when they felt that Pio Nono, who was still " Il Papa Liberale " in 1848, was driving more and more openly into an attitude of nrelenting hostility to modern thought, is best explained, if not justified, by the nemory of these earlier hopes and ideals. In Döllinger's case this lack of charity n his judgments of a hard-pressed Pontiff led to an undoubted loss of faith. Acton ever went so far as his master, but the story of his activities during the Vatican Council and for some years after that great turning-point still awaits a final judgment.

More fundamental as an element in Acton's political thought is the great influence f Edmund Burke. Here Dr. Mathew has written a most helpful chapter, showing ow Döllinger's lifelong admiration for English conservative liberalism taught his oung English student-guest to seek in Burke's writings and speeches a philosophy hat was to remain his to the end. " You can hardly imagine," Acton once wrote o Gladstone's daughter, " what Burke is for all of us who think about politics, and re not wrapped in the blaze and whirlwind of Rousseau. Systems of scientific hought have been built up by famous scholars on the fragments that fell from his able. Great literary fortunes have been made by men who traded on the hundredth art of him." It may seem strange that Acton should have learned his Burke in

a German house: he certainly did not learn it at Oscott, nor perhaps even at Bruton Street. In one of his admirable studies of Burke's influence, John Morley has noted this interest of German scholars in the great Whig theorist: "In Germany, where there has been so much excellent writing about *Staatswissenschaft*, with such poverty and darkness in the wisdom of practical politics, there is a long list of writers who have drawn their inspiration from Burke." The words sound almost as though Morley, who must have seen much of Acton in Gladstone's company, is here paraphrasing one of the historian's more sententious utterances. But the judgment is unquestionably true: not least of a scholar like Döllinger, who failed to make any practical contribution to German political development in 1848, but whose immense learning and sound common sense made him a master worthy of his illustrious pupil. A. G.

RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA (345-411): His Life and Works. By Francis X. Murphy, C.SS.R., Ph.D. Washington: Catholic University. 1945. pp. xviii+248.

RUFINUS is remembered to-day mainly as the friend with whom St. Jerome quarrelled and against whom the irascible Doctor of the Church wrote some of his most bitterly sarcastic tracts. Father Murphy has given us here a full-dress biography, and an estimate of the merits of that quarrel which is a model of careful literary criticism. Apart from that single episode, which fills two chapters of this thesis, Rufinus deserves to be remembered with gratitude for his very substantial contribution to Western theology by a series of painstaking and accurate translations from the Greek writings of Origen and Eusebius. Tillemont, who was perhaps better qualified than any other scholar of the seventeenth century to appreciate the value of such work, seems to have been the first in modern times to say a word on behalf of one who had come to be little more than a foil to the greater learning of his relentless enemy. Father Cavallera put the whole matter in a new light twenty years ago by his masterly survey of St. Jerome's literary work, and Father Murphy makes no secret of his own indebtedness to the French scholar. None the less, he has the very real merit of producing the first adequate biography of a man who played a minor, but most useful part in the great literary achievements of the fourth century.

Briefly the story is as follows. Like Jerome himself, Rufinus was a native of that north-eastern corner of Italy which has become such a centre of diplomatic warfare in our own day. The two men were almost contemporaries, and came to Rome for their higher studies more or less at the same time. Thanks to Jerome's brilliant pen-pictures of his own boyhood and his schoolboy's terrors, we know a good deal of school-life in Rome at that time, and Father Murphy relies on parallels from Jerome's life for his account of the education which Rufinus must have got in the schools of grammar and rhetoric of the fourth century. Rufinus never had a tithe of Jerome's literary power, but he writes good straightforward Latin of his age and was singularly well qualified for the work of translating the Greek commentaries of Origen into readable, trustworthy Latin. To-day, when a part of Origen's work has been lost in its original Greek form, we must thank Rufinus for the competent translations from which we get our knowledge of part at least of the missing commentaries. Such work was bound to interest Jerome, himself the greatest of the Church's translators, and the friendship of the two was for many years a fruitful partnership in work of lasting value.

Then came the quarrel: not in Rome, where they had worked together in friendly harmony, but in the Holy Land, where Jerome—after a short-lived experiment of eremitic life in the desert—had established a monastic community at Bethlehem, whilst Rufinus had joined a larger community in Jerusalem. I must

ave it to the reader to make up his own mind as to the rights and wrongs of the uarrel. It seems, as so often happens, to have been developed out of a good deal f petty rivalry and jealousy between the two communities, each of which was ependent on the bounty of a wealthy Christian lady. Melania provided the ommunity at Jerusalem with all that they needed for their work and prayer—and erome thought the community too worldly-minded. Paula made similar provision or the community at Bethlehem, and Jerome seems to have found no fault with is arrangement. Literary differences of opinion were soon added to these causes f friction, and the quarrel burst into flames over an accusation brought by Jerome gainst Rufinus, that he was disseminating heretical doctrines in the West under ie guise of a faithful translation of Origen's text.

Father Murphy makes it plain that he finds Rufinus very definitely the less uarrelsome of the two by nature, though he admits that Jerome was quicker than ufinus to detect real contradictions in the somewhat loosely worded commentaries f Origen. Augustine's cry of distress when he heard news of the quarrel was Is there any friend whom we must not now dread as a future foe, when this mentable dispute has arisen between Jerome and Rufinus, once so closely knit genius and friendship, in the very land which Our Lord once trod?" The ound was never healed, and Jerome pursued his former friend with such vindictive nergy that he has succeeded in damaging his reputation from that day to this. ather Murphy goes conscientiously through the various phases of the quarrel. Ie also enumerates various treatises, some of which have been identified as the ork of Rufinus in modern times, and maintains the claim of this much-abused anslator to be one of the most useful writers of an age which still astonishes us y its brilliance and its fecundity. He makes one point of special interest. When t. Benedict was gathering his materials for the famous *Regula Benedicti* which had o powerful an influence on the development of medieval life, he made frequent se of the Rules which St. Basil had given to the Greek monks of his own day. was Rufinus who published these Rules in the West in a new Latin form. His ervice to ecclesiastical history is also very real. In addition to a full (or almost ill) translation of Eusebius, he added two books of his own to the Chronicle. hey are no doubt inferior in merit to the work of the great Greek historian, but ey contain precious materials for the history of the fourth century. Either as anslator (as seems more probable) or perhaps as author, Rufinus must get a large are of the credit for the Latin text of the *Historia Monachorum in Egypto*, which one of the most prized memorials of that great Christian century.

A. G.

Celtica

RISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION—REFLEX FACSIMILES, IV: The 'Catechismus' of Theobald Stapleton. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1945. 20+172 pages. 15s.

HOUGH today Irish is all but dead in Tipperary, it once flourished there. Keating. nd Hackett in the seventeenth century and Liam Dall O hIfearnáin in the eighteenth ere Tipperarymen who wrote prose and poetry that was given a place of honour the manuscripts of Munster scribes; and outside the manuscripts, closer to the earts of Irish-speakers, lived the popular songs of Tipperary, of which *Caiseal Iumhan, Seán Ó Duibhir an Ghleanna, Cill Chais,* and *Slán chun an chnuic* are nong the best-known. While the language still lived the clergy of Tipperary, least on two occasions, showed what may be described as official interest in it. he *Statuta Synodalia* of Thomas Bray, Archbishop of Cashel, published in 1813 the Dublin printer H. Fitzpatrick, have as their second volume *Regulations*,

Instructions, Exhortations, and Prayers, &c. &c. in English and Irish, in which are some 120 pages of exhortation and instruction in homely Irish, intended to aid priests in their parochial ministry. Theobald Stapleton's *Catechismus* is the product of an earlier and more theologically inclined effort to provide Tipperary Catholics with religious instruction in their own language. Its seventeenth-century Latin title reads *Catechismus seu doctrina Christiana, Latino-Hibernica, per modum dialogi, inter magistrum et discipulum. Explicata per R. D. Theobaldum Stapletonium, Sacerdotem Hibernum.* The Latin was followed on the same page by its Irish version: *Catechismus. Adhon, an Teagasc Criostuí, iar na fhoillsuí* [sic] *à Ladin & à Ngaoilaig, ar modh chomrá idir Magistir & Disciubúl. Maile re Teaboid Gállduf, Sagart erennach.*

In a Foreword to the Irish Manuscripts Commission's reflex facsimile of this seventeenth-century *Catechismus*, Dr. John F. O Doherty has gathered all that is to be known of its author. It is certain that he celebrated his first Mass at Madrid on 25 March 1616, that before 1639 (when the *Catechismus* was published) he had spent twelve years in Ireland as a priest, and that in 1647 he was "among the victims of the slaughter following the capture of the cathedral church of Cashel on 14 September 1647." His catechism was published in Brussels under the patronage of Ferdinand, Infante of Spain, Archduke of Austria, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and Governor of Belgium and Burgundy. A Jesuit, P. Stanihurst, and an unidentified James O'Donnell showed their interest by contributing Latin verses, addressed to the book itself and to its reader, while the author in a *Prologus ad Lectorem* (in its Irish version called *Oraid don Leaghthoir*) explains the necessity of a knowledge of Christian doctrine for salvation and of that doctrine being presented in simple Irish if it was to be understood.

Theobald Stapleton was original in that he used Roman letters rather than Gaelic in his Irish text and spelt in conformity with the pronunciation of Tipperary rather than with that of the bardic schools. This gives his work a special interest for students of the history of the Irish language. But other readers too will derive profit from it. For it is doubtless a fair specimen of the theological learning of our Spanish-trained clergy in the early seventeenth century. Here and there, too, interesting light is thrown on native Irish religious customs: *Et est consuetudo Hibernica antiquissima, laudatissimaque abstinere feriis sextis à lacteciniis, & feriis quartis à carnibus* (pp. 94-5)—in Irish *Agus à se seangnathugh naomhtha na Nerenach gan báinbhía Diahaoine, na feóil Diaceaduin do chaithamh ;* or again (Prologue, § 28) *Itaque miserum est tot videre Hibernos, qui aliam nullam praeter Hibernicam linguam norunt, orationem Dominicam, Symbolum Apostolorum, Praecepta Dei & Ecclesiae, & caetera, quae Christianus scire tenetur, corruptis ac indecoris linguae Latinae verbis recitare audentes, nescientes quid dicunt, sed garrientes instar Psitaci, qui si interrogentur, nesciunt quid rectè respondeant, dicuntque se non intelligere quod recitant* (in Irish *Marsin as mór an truaidh à liacht Erenach, na foil aca acht gaoilaig amhain, à cur chum na Paidri, na crée, & urnuithe ele na Heagluise do radh à laidin ró bhristi, & fós gan à fhios aca cred à deirid, acht à gogalluig amhail Pioraide, no caoge do chuirfeadh chum cainte ; oir ma fhiathriann tú cred adura, ní fhoil do fhregara aca dhuit, acht a radh nach tuigid an ní derid*).

G. M.

History

THE UNITED STATES. A Historical Sketch. By E. A. Benians.
RACE AND NATION IN THE UNITED STATES. By E. A. Benians. Cambridge University Press. 1943 and 1946. 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. net.

THESE small books by the Master of St. John's are among the best popular introduc-

tions to American history. The first and larger of the two consists of five lectures delivered before an unspecified Cambridge audience and then expanded and provided with an index so as to fill just a hundred and ten pages. The second, which runs only to forty-eight pages, represents a single lecture given in 1944 to students of Bedford College. It is rather a pity that all six lectures could not have been bound together in a single book; but both books are well worth buying and reading. Dr. Benians possesses the exactly suitable style for this kind of popular writing: smooth, vivid, and remarkably clear, and fortified whenever necessary by abundance of picturesque quotation.

As he remarks in the second of the two books under review, the making of the American nation is the most important development of modern times. "It will fill a greater page of future history than the unification of Italy or Germany." The first series of lectures traces this development from the establishment of independence down to the entry of the United States into the Second World War. The growth of the group of small English colonies into the most powerful nation the world has ever seen is a story full of romantic incidents, of remarkable political sagacity and energy, and of almost incredible industrial expansion backed by limitless natural resources. Dr. Benians relates it with great skill to the double rhythm of the advancing Western frontier and of the ever-growing swell of European immigration, which especially from the end of the Civil War till its final restriction in 1929 made America into a common melting-pot for all the peoples of Europe and many from other parts of the world.

In spite of doubts many times expressed this immense movement of population has been so guided and moulded by something in the spirit of the original States that it has now become a single nation. Various causes—geographical, economic, and political—have helped in this process; but there can be no doubt that its principal factor has been the spirit of freedom and equality so often expressed by statesmen from Jefferson to F. D. Roosevelt. The Civil War was, as Lincoln insisted with splendid eloquence, a test of that freedom. With the defeat of the South it is true that something was lost. After half a century of triumph for the Jeffersonian ideal, it was to Hamilton's policies that victory came in the end. Modern economic development seems now to constitute a second and even more serious threat to liberty in the growth of the all-powerful State and, with it, of social uniformity. At the same time the United States have become the great remaining hope of liberty to the whole world. Dr. Benians here offers material for thought to all who are constrained to wonder whether they can live up to their opportunity.

M. T.

FENIAN MEMORIES. By Dr. Mark F. Ryan. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1945. 7s. 6d. net.

FENIANISM as an influence and force in Irish political life has been wide and far-reaching since its beginning eighty years ago. With the establishment of an Irish Republic as its ultimate objective, it generated a spirit of virile nationalism that, reaching a high intensity in our own generation, has all but acheived that objective. Apart from this it was indirectly responsible for the disestablishment of the Protestant church in Ireland and for the Land Act of 1870. Ten years later the New Departure of Davitt and Devoy linked a substantial portion of the revolutionary organisation to the constitutional movement, of which it became the backbone and driving force. And it is more than doubtful that, without its powerful influence, the great social reforms of the parliamentary movement under Parnell would have taken place.

An authoritative history of the Fenian movement remains to be written. Michael Davitt was, it is believed, planning such a book for some time before his death.

One cannot but regret that a work, which would have crowned the life of that heroic man, did not materialise—possessing so eminently as he did the qualifications for it. Many personal memoirs of the movement, like those of Devoy, O'Leary, Denniffe and others, give valuable information of its leading personalities and activities. The most recent of these memoirs is that of Dr. Mark Ryan, the last of the earlier Fenians, who died a few years ago at the age of ninety six. While his book is an important addition to the bibliography of Fenianism, it is more than that. It is a life history of the author himself, whose memory stretched back to the year 1850, and it throws vivid sidelights on the changing social conditions of Ireland during the second half of the nineteenth century. He gives a detailed account of the hedge school which he attended as a boy and of the rude chapel in his native parish in Co. Galway, built by the people themselves. The means used to heat the building was a turf fire laid on stones in its centre !

Most of Dr. Ryan's book, however, deals, as its title indicates, with his Fenian contemporaries and their efforts to achieve Irish independence. He was intimate with all the leaders—Stephens, O'Leary, Kickham, Luby, Rossa, etc.—of each of whom he gives short, vivid pen pictures. Unlike some other writers of reminiscences, he is never egoistic or factious and he is always liberal in his outlook. " So long as men are manifestly unselfish," he writes, " in their efforts to serve Ireland, we should be tolerant of their views, no matter how strongly opposed to them we may be." One is glad, too, to find him defending Stephens, the pioneer who in dark days roused a spiritless country and who up to his death suffered in silent dignity bitter and unfair criticism from many old comrades. " Were it not for Stephens," says Dr. Ryan, " it is doubtful if there would have been a Fenian movement. . . . Stephens the tireless worker who tramped the country preaching the gospel of sacrifice for Ireland." This is typical of the spirit of this pleasant volume of reminiscences, whose every page reveals its author as scrupulously loyal to his own principles while ever generous in his estimate of others of different views. The latest addition to the literature of Fenianism from one who saw its beginnings and its triumph will be of value for the future historian of a great movement. The fine format, excellent paper and type are, in difficult times like the present, a credit to the publishers. R. H.

ANNE COMNENE : ALEXIADE. Tome II (Livres V-X) ; Tome III (Livres XI-XV). Texte établi et traduit par Bernard Leib, S.J. Paris : Les Belles Lettres. 1943 ; 1945.

THE first volume of this very useful edition of the *Alexiad* was published by Father Leib in 1937, and was reviewed in STUDIES for September 1938. These two new volumes, which conclude the series, have been issued under the patronage of the Association Guillaume Budé, with two subsidies provided by the generosity of His Holiness Pope Pius XII and of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. From time to time some volume appears in post-war Europe with all the dignity and excellence of peace-time production. These two volumes, printed on excellent paper and bound in the very attractive red paper-covers of the Association's Byzantine series, may be counted in that goodly company, and are most certainly a witness to France's continuing interest in the ancient humanities. The dates at which each volume appeared (1943 and 1945) show that it was possible to maintain these traditions even in the most tragic hours of France's recent history. Students of Byzantine history will note with special pleasure the fact that M. Charles Diehl is still at work, and has taken an active interest in the production of these two volumes.

The first volume, which appeared in 1937, contains Father Leib's account of the manuscripts on which his edition has been based, with an excellent literary

biography of the Byzantine princess to whom we owe this remarkable narrative of her father's exploits. These two volumes, which give the concluding eleven books of the entire work, contain that section of the text which is of special interest for Western readers: Anna's account of the first contact between the Byzantine soldiers and politicians of her father's Empire and the Franks or Normans, who were beginning to break into that Empire from the West under Robert Guiscard; and who finally won their right to pass through Constantinople on their way to Antioch and Jerusalem during the first Crusade. Anna's story covers the whole of that romantic episode and is carried forward to the date of her father's death in 1118. She is thus able to tell the story of what happened in Antioch after the first conquest by the crusaders; and her account of Bohemund, Robert Guiscard's very able but unscrupulous son, is a well-known source for the history of those years. Alexius may not have been the hero whom Anna would have us see as always nobly in the right, the *Basileus* whom his daughter is ready to defend against all criticism or slander. But he was certainly one of the most remarkable Emperors in the long line of Byzantine rulers. Father Leib has done us all a real service by producing, in these most difficult years, a handy and readable text of Anna's Greek narrative; with an excellent, accurate and idiomatic French translation on the opposite page, and very helpful footnotes by way of elucidation and comment. Father Leib was a Professor at the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies when he first undertook the preparation of this edition. He is now engaged in administrative and educational work in post-war France. We welcome the completion of his laborious task as one more proof that Catholic scholarship, under the inspiring leadership of Pius XI and Pius XII, is still able to maintain in a war-scarred world the sound traditions of European culture. A. G.

RELIGION IN AMERICA. By Willard L. Sperry. Cambridge University Press. 1945. 10s. 6d.

THE author of this very readable book is Dean of the Divinity School at Harvard University, and has plainly had long experience of explaining American life to English audiences. As a young man he spent three years (1904-7) at Queen's College, Oxford, on a Rhodes scholarship. The editor of this new series, entitled "American Life and Institutions," chose his man well when he selected Dean Sperry as an interpreter of American religious experience to English readers. The book is, of course, written primarily for Englishmen and from the standpoint of Liberal Protestantism. But Irish readers will find much to interest them; and the chapter on "American Catholicism," which is based on Mr. Theodore Maynard's *Story of American Catholicism* (New York, 1941), is full of helpful comments.

The book opens with a general chapter on "Presuppositions". Apart from the obviously diverse elements which go to make up the conglomerate society which we know as the United States of America, Dean Sperry notes three characteristics of American religious life as contrasted with English traditions: the absence of an Established Church, with the corresponding absence of any socially superior status of the Anglican clergy; a rank individualism which goes back, in its historic origins, to the first Puritan settlements and has been maintained by the "frontiersman" psychology of American life; and a curiously naive optimism as to the value of all American institutions, which is now (so Dean Sperry holds) beginning to experience its first disillusionment. In the religious sphere this American optimism goes oddly with a theological tradition that is predominantly Calvinist; "old sombre theological words are still said" from the pulpit, whilst daily life is conducted on another assumption. William James still ranks as the most influential religious

thinker yet produced by modern American education. In his *Varieties of Religious Experience* he notes that " the completest religions would seem to be those in which the pessimistic elements are best developed ". On this principle (and James knew his fellow-countrymen well) American religious life is still in an immature state of development.

The early chapters in which Dean Sperry recounts the familiar story of the early settlements on the East Coast from the religious standpoint are most illuminating. A junior colleague has provided this book with two excellent appendixes in which the proportional population of the main religious bodies in the American Colonies and of the various national elements of immigrant stock are clearly tabulated. The Episcopalian Church of England, for example, was strongest in Virginia, but had never developed a resident episcopal hierarchy. In Maryland the original Catholic stock of settlers still formed a substantial proportion of the state's population, but there had been a steady immigration into neighbouring Pennsylvania once the rule of the Maryland Catholics had been overthrown in 1692. Congregationalism begins with the first Puritan settlements of 1620, whilst the strength of American Baptists dates from the influence of a forceful religious leader of the next generation, Roger Williams of Rhode Island. Two whole chapters of this book are devoted to an intelligible account of the astoundingly prolific growth of sects in the modern American world. No less than 256 religious denominations are listed in the Federal Census of 1936. Omitting the Catholics (23,000,000), the Jews (4,600,000) and the Eastern Orthodox groups (1,200,000), there remain 243 Protestant sects with a total population of some 38 millions. These figures explain the absence of an Established Church and the insistence that all religious bodies are equal in the eyes of the average American.

Yet the Catholic Church, as being by far the largest single denomination, commands the attention of all. Dean Sperry, who feels himself incompetent to interpret this great body to his English readers, has had recourse to Mr. Maynard's recent volume—all the more willingly since Mr. Maynard is himself an Englishman. That American Catholicism speaks with a distinctive accent, is a fact that no Irishman will dispute. That accent is more easily interpreted to us in this country for the simple reason that American Catholic life is overwhelmingly Irish in its origin. During the past century the government of all the more important American dioceses has been mainly in Irish hands. Irish faith, backed by Irish hard-earned money, has built most of America's Catholic churches and schools. Dean Sperry notes one by-product of this simple historic fact. Conversions to the Catholic Church are less frequent in the States than in England, and he suggests that such a change " is not, for an Anglo-Saxon, socially as easy in America as in England ". There has been no Newman in the American tradition, and there is no Duke of Norfolk. On the other hand, Dean Sperry makes no secret of his admiration for the energy and zeal which have made the American Catholics what they are to-day. His account of Catholic education, especially at the university or college level, is too slight to be of any practical use. His criticisms are of more interest. He notes the absence of any contemplative or meditative life in this supremely active organisation ; and he dislikes the emphasis with which so many American Catholics stress their 100 per cent. patriotism as American citizens. American Catholics are constantly being accused of a double loyalty in national and international affairs ; and he suggests that the Church in America has been over-anxious to counter this charge by an unwearying assertion of pride and confidence in American democracy. We in Ireland may envy our American brethren their assured position in the life of the New World. Dean Sperry makes no secret of his own opinion that the future is more promising for them than for any, even the wealthiest and most highly organised, of the American Protestant sects. P. D.

Politics and Sociology

THE STUDY OF POLITICS. By D. W. Brogan. Cambridge University Press. 1946. 1s. 6d.

THE FREE STATE. Some Considerations on its practical Value. By D. W. Brogan. London: Hamish Hamilton. 1945. 6s. net.

IN his inaugural lecture, *The Study of Politics*, Professor Brogan gives some account of his attitude towards the study and teaching of politics. His tract on *The Free State* may be taken as an example of his method in practice. Professor Brogan approaches political problems from the side of history rather than of philosophy, but he does not come to the study as "a complete neutral, ready to believe that nothing has yet been decided or that all is eternally in question". He thinks that the theme of politics is closely connected with ethics and especially with liberty. "The study of politics, as seen by me, is first of all and, perhaps, last of all the study of the means whereby liberty and authority may be best combined, whereby the dignity of the free man is made compatible with the highest and richest forms of co-operation." Unfortunately liberty can be a very vague term. Hegel found its highest embodiment in the Prussian State. Much of the classical literature of politics would fall outside Professor Brogan's definition.

The easy optimism of the nineteenth century led to an over-emphasis on the mere mechanics of the State. The value of democracy and of representative institutions was taken for granted, and the study of politics was often confined to a comparative analysis of democratic institutions. In his book on *The State*, published at the end of the nineteenth century, President Woodrow Wilson, for example, takes it to be quite obvious that democracy is about to prevail everywhere. This, as it turned out, was an unhappy lapse into prophecy. But on such a view, and it was very usual at the time, the main problem of politics would be the study of methods and devices for making democracy workable and effective in various environments. This optimism was succeeded by an over-dose of pessimism. It was, no doubt, naive to think that British or American institutions could be adapted to any cultural environment. But it is a worse mistake to suppose that they have no value and that political institutions are entirely relative. Granting that political institutions are in some sense relative to culture, there is much virtue in Sir Ernest Barker's suggestion that democratic institutions are relative to a higher culture. "The ultimate problem of politics is to get political values into the right perspective. In bad politics is our doom; in good politics is our only hope of salvation."

We may not be able to speak of politics as a science in the strict sense. It is, however, a subject in which conclusions can be ascertained. In the controversy between Socrates and Protagoras, Professor Brogan takes a middle course. Politics "cannot and it should not attempt to train statesmen; they are artists no more to be produced by universities than are great painters by the multiplication of art schools." But great statesmen will be the better for such studies. This is modest enough, and no less could be expected from a professor of politics.

That certain political principles and conclusions can be made persuasive by argument is illustrated by Professor Brogan's book on *The Free State*. He describes it as "a tract directed to those intelligent Germans (who must exist) who may now be pondering the problem of why, twice in a generation, Germany has been involved in catastrophe". The book is divided into three sections: Case for Freedom; Case for Politics; Liberty and Arms. Professor Brogan says what can be said for the democratic way of life. It is not a detached study of the problems, and Professor Brogan seems to feel that the direction of his arguments to Nazi Germany detracts somewhat from the value of his book. The case for freedom is familiar and coercive. But it certainly needs to be argued again in modern democracies,

and some formula is badly needed for its relation to planning which inevitably implies restraint. John Stuart Mill told us that no society can be in a healthy state in which eccentricity is repressed. This is unhelpful because all societies repress certain types of eccentricity, and what is needed is an exact formula which will enable us to distinguish between different types of eccentricity.

Again the rule of politicians with all its drawbacks is preferable to the government of the supposed expert. And in his final section Professor Brogan argues for the thesis of Clemenceau that " war is far too serious a matter to leave to soldiers ". The state organized for war is ineffective even in war. " For the apparent paradox is yet the truth. Real total war is more easily attained by a free state than by a purely military state." If, as a result of the arguments of this book, " the intelligent German " is genuinely persuaded of this, his last state may be worse than the first. But is he likely to be persuaded? D. O'K.

A HANDBOOK OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Kimball Young. London: Kegan Paul. 1946. 21s.

THIS is a new edition of a book, originally published in 1930, in which the author endeavours to take account of the great mass of material published in the interval and of what he considers the " advances " which Social Psychology has made. Whether the student accepts Professor Kimball Young's standpoint and conclusions or not, he will find the book of very great value. It sums up in a competent way a vast amount of literature, much of which will be unfamiliar to many readers. Some may find the terminology repellent and may even fancy at times that the explanations are merely verbal. But in a study so recent as Social Psychology a certain liberty of prophesying is almost inevitable, and no doubt it will be many years before any accepted terminology can be attained. The author, in any case, is modest about what the study of Social Psychology can hope at the moment to achieve. If it is not yet mature enough for " a well-rounded theory or method," if it has no " substantial body of carefully-tested data " on which to construct " basic principles " and " laws," it still can be of " some help " in aiding us to understand and predict human thought and action. The problems are immensely complex. The analogies of animal conduct, to which the author gives some attention, are very uncertain and our knowledge of their psychological significance is mainly a deduction from what we know about our own. There is a constant temptation, as was exemplified in McDougall's instinct theory, to look for explanations which are over-simple. Professor Kimball Young endeavours to give due weight to social cultural and environmental factors. He makes what he calls an eclectic approach and draws upon history, political science, economics, philosophy and sociology. This also has its dangers, and one cannot help feeling at times—as in his final chapter on " Control and Power "—an inevitable sense of superficiality.

The book is divided into three sections—Part I: Some Basic Relations of Personality to Society and Culture; Part II: Some Aspects of Human Conflict Part III: Mass Behaviour. The treatment is not confined to what might be regarded as specifically psychological problems. The author applies psychological results to all kinds of sociological problems. There are chapters on such subjects as Dominance and Leadership; The Psychology of Revolution; The Psychology of War and of Military Morale; Civilian Morale and other Problems of War Crowd and Audience; Fashion; Public Opinion; Propaganda; Psychological Warfare in International Relations. The reader may at times think the result meagre, commonplace and lacking in any significant insight. But it is something to state systematically what the problems are; and in some problems, particularly in those that admit of statistical and experimental treatment, the results have some

alue. There are times, however, when the discussion has little genuine psychological elevance. The lengthy account of propaganda, to take a single example, is almost xclusively historical. What seems to emerge from it is that the various organizations hich have made use of propaganda have arrived at the correct technique by some nd of infallible instinct, and certainly not along the lines of any psychological pproach. This is illustrated by the media and techniques in domestic propaganda the United States, and later we are told that " the Nazis understood well the asic functions of propaganda ". All that social psychology can do is to show or to sert that these techniques are effective and to attempt some analysis—very imperfect a rule—of why it is so. The supposed success of Nazi propaganda seems to be o easily assumed, and one would expect a more critical evaluation of different ethods. The most interesting section in this chapter gives the results of studies " specific motion-picture propaganda ". D. O'K.

NDIVIDUALISM, TRUE AND FALSE. By F. A. Hayek. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. Oxford: Blackwell. 1946. 2s. 6d. net.

ROFESSOR HAYEK is a distinguished economist of the famous Austrian school, who as for many years been Professor of Economic Science in London University. In is pamphlet of thirty-eight pages he publishes his Finlay Memorial Lecture, elivered last December in University College, Dublin. His subject, as was perhaps lt by his audience at the time, is one of some subtlety; but it is also a subject of ie very greatest actuality. The Austrian school have recently come to the front, nfortunately at a rather late hour, as defenders of what has come to be called classical " economic theory. It is quite astonishing how much fashion in this atter has changed in a quarter of a century. Twenty years ago " classical " conomics were the only orthodox economics. Now they have been almost verywhere superseded, either by out-and-out Marxism or by such theories of eneficent State intervention as those associated with the late Lord Keynes.

The subtlety in Professor Hayek's treatment of his subject lies in his distinction etween two kinds of individualism. He sets us before " two traditions of thought hich while bearing the same name are divided by fundamentally opposed principles". ne, which Professor Hayek characterises as true, goes back through Burke and dam Smith to John Locke; the other is the doctrine of all Continental rationalists id originated with Descartes. The first " accounts for most of the order which e find in human affairs as the unforeseen result of individual actions ". The second traces all discoverable order to deliberate design ". It is not true that Adam Smith id David Hume were the British representatives of contemporary French tionalism. On the contrary, they were stimulated in their work by opposition it. Professor Hayek names as their predecessors Adam Ferguson, Josiah Tucker, id especially Bernard de Mandeville, whose *Fable of the Bees* (1705, 1728) first rmulated the anti-rationalist idea of man as " a highly irrational and fallible being hose individual errors are corrected only in the course of a social process ". The eatest nineteenth-century representatives of this school of thought are Alexis de ocqueville and Lord Acton, who showed that the rationalist theory of conscious ntrol leads not to the perfect State but to slavery.

Professor Hayek's lecture is thus very much on the same lines as his widely-read ok *The Road to Serfdom*. It is a well-merited protest against the now almost grained idea that " planning " will lead to an earthly paradise, and is a plea for a turn to the Liberal system under which production and consumption were not garded as matters for the State, but were left to the almost unchecked operation supply and demand. In spite of Professor Hayek's able presentation, it is very ubtful whether the philosophical foundations of the Liberal doctrine are in reality

much safer than those of uncompromising rationalism. We are surely in presence of two extremes, and if the works of the Slave State are indeed repellent, those of the wholly Liberal State were only less so. However, the knot nearest the throat just now is unquestionably the rationalist or "false" type of individualism, for which the individual is merely a piece of machinery. For this reason, apart from its abstract interest, which is high, Professor Hayek's essay deserves a warm welcome.

M. T.

WHAT IS CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION? By John Baillie. Oxford University Press. 1945. 3s. 6d.

PROFESSOR BAILLIE devotes his Riddell Lectures to a discussion of the Concept of Christian Civilization, a subject which had already, from different angles, attracted the attention of Mr. T. S. Eliot and M. Maritain. And it is significant that Professor Baillie is able to say at the end of his second lecture: "M. Maritain is a Roman and Mr. Eliot an Anglo-Catholic; yet I, who am a Presbyterian, find myself in sufficient general agreement with this common direction of their thought to allow their words to stand in this place without further comment of my own."

The problem arises in this way. The medieval Christian world, however we may interpret it—and I think that Professor Baillie frequently misinterprets it—was admittedly a Christian civilization. The Catholic Church and the whole range of Catholic ideas had penetrated society. Europe could, in a quite definite sense, be regarded as a *respublica christiana*. But since the Reformation and still more since the so-called Enlightenment in the latter half of the eighteenth century there has grown up a new situation. There are now "millions of men and women in all our communities who profess no religious faith, take part in no religious observance, and have connexion with no religious institution". In what sense then can we now refer to a Christian Civilization and what are the chances of its survival in such communities?

Professor Baillie finds that there is a common belief that what Professor Gilbert Murray calls "the precious quality of Christian civilization," in the sense of the Christian moral code, can be retained apart from any belief in Christianity itself. This he regards as entirely illusory. "It is unlikely, then, that the Christian conscience of the West can long survive its present disseverance from its original setting of belief and its original nourishment of worship. There must either be some return to the integrity of the Christian outlook or a still further disintegration."

Apart from the unhappy vagueness of "some return" this conclusion is well-founded, although the logic of it would, I think, lead further than Professor Baillie is prepared to go. The genuine Catholic ages gave so-called Christian civilization a definitely secondary place. What was primary was the Catholic faith. The quotation from Mr. Christopher Dawson is very apt: "If that age was an age of faith," it was because the men of that age "put their trust in something more than civilization and something outside history". We cannot retain as a living force, permeating and transforming society, mere fragments of the Christian system torn from their context and deprived of their genuine significance. In the last resort we must find value in Christianity because it is true not because it appeals to the aesthetic sense or because it had developed a civilization or a social system which, for one reason or another, appeals to us.

It is, of course, significant to find Christian thinkers of various kinds coming to what seems the same conclusion. But we must not forget that, in some sense which is not made quite clear in these lectures, "integral Christianity" for Professor Baillie is apparently some form of Calvinism. Even if Max Weber's theory is not entirely acceptable, this will seem to the enlightened mind an unacceptable method of escape. On the historical side Professor Baillie must be taken with extreme

ution. He has odd views about the medieval attitude to Monasticism. He also peats the error, almost universal in English books, that St. Augustine regarded e State as being the result of sin. Otto Schilling has pointed out that this view sts on a mistaken interpretation of a passage in the *De Civitate Dei*.

D. O'K.

The German Problem

HE GERMAN MIND AND OUTLOOK. By G. P. Gooch and Others. (Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Sociology). London: Chapman and Hall. 1945. 9s. 6d.

this book, which originated in a series of lectures inaugurated by the Institute Sociology in London in 1942 and 1943, was not exactly provoked by the war, is inevitably influenced by it. As Professor Gooch says, in a brief and balanced reword, professors are no more likely than statesmen or soldiers to forget the ikes in the great conflict. Why should they do so? But even to a German problem the war years their approach, Dr. Gooch reminds us, should not be polemical. Academic men and women should at least *aim* at objectivity. If now and again ese essays fall short of that desideratum, we must lay the blame on the time-spirit. is not, anyhow, easy to keep one's balance in a storm or to make reason control terance when everything one values seems threatened. And these experts are British—by direct descent, by birth or by adoption.

They are all, too, distinguished in their separate spheres. Drs. Gooch, Willoughby d Elizabeth M. Butler are well known in their respective departments of history literature. Dr. Gooch's writings have long been in the hands of the public, and nglish students of history are no doubt familiar with his documentation work (in -operation with the late Professor Temperley) in British research into the origins the first World War. The mantle of the late Professor Robertson has fallen Professor Willoughby of London University, to whose energy we all are indebted r the timely revival of the English Goethe Society. Under that Weimar sign he eks shelter from storms, his contribution "Goethe and the Modern World" curing itself finely against the encroachments of propaganda or polemics. Miss izabeth Butler, the distinguished author of, among other things, the Rilke mono-aph, is a more controversial figure. Whilst her indefatigable high scholarship, t off by an exceptional mastery of style and language, secured for her in rapid ccession the Henry Simon Professorship of German in Manchester and the hröder Professorship in Cambridge, her impatience with folly or extravagance any kind compel her now and again to give as it were personal challenge to the es of her common sense, however godlike these may have seemed to their own any other age. I sense that heat of battle still in her paper "Romantic German-tum". Such an eminent poet as Stefan George has before now felt the thrust her sword. He does so once more, this time in company with philosophers often emed inaccessible, such as Kant and Fichte, or spirits like Hölderlin whom one ght imagine for ever removed from spheres of conflict. And yet—always precating the warmth of her attack and her occasional verbal ironies—Miss tler has, in her analysis, a deep core of right. I mean this in the sense in which, crises of German life and thought, theories tend fatally to pass into practice. eals innocuous at the time become, in the dynamism of another and a godless , a reality undreamt of at their first conception and largely (I believe) unwished the end. Indeed Professor Pascal of Birmingham reviews some such process of nsformation in his treatment of the question of the responsibility *or otherwise* German intellectuals for the exaggerated nationalism of mid-twentieth-century rmany.

It is somewhat in Miss Butler's sense of romantic Germanentum that Dr. Stirk of Exeter College, whose book *The Prussian Spirit* appeared in the early war years, makes a sound contribution on the German tendency to myth-making and type-forming, processes which easily harden into propaganda. Not the least useful part of his paper for non German-trained readers is the clarification of the word " myth ", which in German does not mean " a tale devoid of truth or a non-existent person or theory or event " but " a symbolic idea with life-giving force "—or " the word and the vision which tells about the Folk and God, about what has really happened ". With such a connotation Rosenberg wrote of *Der Mythus des 20sten Jahrhunderts*, a religion of Blood and Soil and Race which was to replace the " outworn " Christian creeds. In that sense, too, cultured Germany had, long before the advent of National Socialism, but rather as private and individual than as official cults, developed the myth of the " religious " significance of poets like Stefan George or Rilke or even Hölderlin, however little that hapless genius had, in his own day, lent himself to such worship.

What, when this very cursory review of the framework has been made, is this book's scope? What is its purpose? The German Mind as here examined is, I take it, in an acute pathological condition. The symptoms are the pre-war and war acts. The causes are to be found in the implications of the particular form of totalitarianism for which Adolf Hitler was responsible. These are, apparently, all traceable to the German Mind and constitute its Outlook. They both together would have spelt ruin not only to what Germany should be in the comity of nations but to that comity itself, had the Allies not brought the war to a successful conclusion. But it is by no means certain that the roots of the Führer's form of National Socialism can be traced to the German Mind, and it is certain that Professor Pascal is right in saying that " the standpoint taken by the historian necessarily imposes a pattern on the landscape of the past, establishing links and a perspective which are broken if a different standpoint be taken ". This is, if I remember rightly, a point of view often emphasised by Professor Butterfield, the distinguished Cambridge historian.

As to the purpose of the book, individual contributions seem to contain suggestions for remedies for the German condition. Some of these are economic, some humanistic,—all, it would seem now, are to be imposed from without. If the roots of a perverted National Socialism really lie so deep in the German Mind, then not an education enforced over an indefinite period of years by four distinct and separate foreign armies of occupation but the atomic bomb would seem to be the only form of solution to the problem. There might be another, in the hands of the great German nation itself, to whose scholarship and researches in every field Europe must remain for ever in debt. I mean a return in practice as in profession to her great Christian tradition, under her own rulers and her heroic pastors. I am such an " obscurantist " that I was profoundly impressed by Cardinal Count von Galen's recent comment in Rome on the state of his unhappy country. " It was apostasy " he is reported to have said, " which can occur in any country and in any age " Indeed, if there was here below a tribunal that claimed the right to search hearts we might all—of every nationality—be arraigned. Let us, therefore, not sit in eternal judgment on—much less ostracise—our fellowmen or their minds. Let us help, if we can, this particular sixty or eighty million group of them to rebuild their great country nearer to their own hearts' desire. MARY M. MACKEN

GERMANY'S THREE REICHS. By Professor Edmond Vermeil. Translated by W. E. Dickes. London: Andrew Dakers. 1945. 15s.

THE name of the author of this book of over 400 pages (of war economy standard) is familiar in France—and in England, too, where, fleeing from the Gestapo, he lived in the interval between the fall and the liberation of his country. The appearance

f the book in 1945 was a sort of " delayed action," for it was ready for publication n its French dress when the Germans, entering Paris in 1940, confiscated and pparently destroyed it. But advance copies had reached England before the nreatened author himself; they are presumably the original of our translation. The whole work has been " brought up to date " by an addition to Chapter IX of he text proper, together with some alterations in an epilogue headed : " Conclusions, Psychological Sketch and Future Perspectives." Edmond Vermeil is a distinguished rofessor of the Sorbonne, heir to the activities of the late Professors Charles Andler nd Henri Lichtenberger whose contributions to the history of German literature nd German culture need no introduction to scholars. Indeed Professor Andler's vorks on Nietzsche and on Pan-Germanism, as well as his treatment of many other henomena of German literary, social and political history, are in line with themes liscussed in Professor Vermeil's book, while Professor Lichtenberger's 1913 iography of Richard Wagner and his monograph on The Third Reich show related nterests in the sphere of the " real " and the " actual " rather than in the more arefied regions of literary aesthetics.

The pre-occupation of these professors with the Germany of their day and its Psyche need surprise nobody who remembers that, in the three quarters of a century vhich is roughly their life's span, they have three times known their country hreatened by the people whose culture it is their duty to interpret. The first nvasion was in the name of The Second Reich, then (1870) about to be born; its hristening had, ironically enough, the Versailles Hall of Mirrors for background; lefeated France stood god-mother! Against the second invasion by the same Reich, forty-four years later, Vermeil took the field as a man of forty, with " lyre nd sword," as it were. Even before the allied victory in 1918 his pen kept stressing he necessity for " continued allied organisation against the common enemy ". Jnder the furious dynamics of The Third Reich—seeking to build for a thousand ears to come—the author's life was apparently at stake; his exposition of national ocialism and of the theories on which it was based had made of him a marked man nd ultimately a fugitive. No wonder, then, that his book is—despite its mass of nformation, its great learning and its fine understanding, especially of the non-roblematic stages and personalities of the German scene—hardly an objective resentation of the evolution of Germany from the beginning down to our own lay. The actual theme is nothing less than *a synthesis, by the author, of the forces, ometimes unconscious, more often, in his view, conscious and of set purpose,* in German istory, culture and religion that work towards the realization of German world lominance. Such a realization was deemed to be at last possible in The Third Reich as it was finally constituted in a National Socialist Empire State incorporating he military, administrative and industrial-financial dynamic of Prussia.

Like Dr. Meissner's *Confusion of Faces* this synthesis is a commentary on German istory—not over four centuries, however, but over four times four—not on German istory alone, but on all those forms and expressions of German life which will elp Professor Vermeil to establish his thesis: A Germany working for world lomination—a people who because of their emotional and intellectual character nd traditions, political forms and institutions, military history, religious and hilosophical development, have tended more and more to draw apart from Western Europe and its Christian and humanist sources of strength. They have more and nore become consciously vulnerable, alternating between arid realities and romantic reams, planning a German universalism; a danger to European equilibrium. At various crises in their history destruction of values has tended to create, in their ndividual or collective self, as it were a vacuum. Such a vacuum—a final one—s the revolution of nihilism, of which National Socialism is the realisation but vhich is presaged—and the formula for which can be found—in Nietzsche.

I do not know whether Professor Vermeil and Dr. Meissner have ever met or exchanged views; but, though their approach to their respective problems is as different as is their range and style, there are striking similarities in their modes of thought. The most obvious difference in their approach is that, whilst both see the inchoate, the monstrous and the chaotic which culminates in our mid-century nihilism, Dr. Meissner sees that nihilism, mirrored indeed for the moment in Hitler's Germany, but an ever present danger throughout secularized Europe. For Professor Vermeil it seems rather a disease specifically Germanic—inborn, latent perhaps in the great cultural epochs, but never quite subdued and continually fed in our mechanized age by iconoclasts like Schopenhauer, Nietzsche or the later existentialists. There is no doubting which of these views is the more Christian—Professor Vermeil's theory of fundamentals and accidentals or Dr. Meissner's of accidentals only—in the German show of nihilism. One may not in the interest either of a national unit or of Uno accuse a people *qua* people of anything more than its share of original sin. Even from the point of view of tactics that would be to take a leaf out of the book of "the common enemy" of the moment—a danger against which Dr. Meissner warns.

Professor Vermeil's book—the result of forty years' study of the German scene and the first of its kind to be attempted in France—makes, even in the very type that his printer occasionally uses, no secret of its design to indict Germany. He justifies it by the demands that "the momentous nature of the conflict" make on him as a European and the representative of the ordinary peace-loving Frenchman. He is, to be sure, by no means alone in his view that men of letters should accept the realities of a situation and should turn their talents to account in the concrete cause of their country. I have heard such a view propounded nearer home and have seen it followed up. It was the German view in the Bismarckian period which bears a certain weight of Professor Vermeil's attack in his text proper. As war tactics it may be alright; but, viewed in a whiter light, it will not bear inquiry. And it is a pity that much in this book should not survive the tragic realities of our present day. For I have rarely read a better analysis of the philosophy of the great Goethe nor a better appreciation of his synthesis of nature and God. I wish Professor Vermeil had—or had not—"stuck to his guns". His terrain is immense; his strategy good; it were well nevertheless that this feat of his was not a feat of arms!

MARY M. MACKEN

PHILOSOPHY

A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. Vol. I. Greece and Rome. By Frederick Copleston, S.J. (The Bellarmine Series, No. 11). London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1946. 18s. net.

THE preface to this handsome volume of over five hundred pages opens with an apology by its author for having added to the number of histories of philosophy already in existence. As a matter of fact there is ample room for the kind of comprehensive critical manual that Fr. Copleston has given us. Most existing histories of Greek philosophy, especially in English, are already somewhat out of date; the past twenty years have seen a good deal of specialised work on various departments of the subject, which has broken new ground. This book has the double advantage of being abreast of the best recent work and of being thoroughly critical and original. It has indeed a third point in its favour, that it has been written with a particular view to the needs of Catholic seminaries. This naturally gives it a special interest and value for all Catholic readers, because it is far from being a mere dry-as-dust scholastic compilation.

Fr. Copleston is clearly himself a metaphysician of considerable attainments.

He studies Greek philosophy naturally from the Thomist standpoint, but here again he is by no means narrow or pedantic ; a feature of his book is the frequency with which he indicates the difference in approach between the Thomist and the Kantian or Hegelian method. The greater part of it is naturally devoted to Plato and Aristotle, but it is equally good both on pre-Socratic philosophy and on the post-Aristotelian schools. In his Introduction Fr. Copleston quotes Gilson's remark that medieval philosophy represents rather a curve than a straight line. The same might be said of the movement of Greek thought. In one sense there is a direct continuity from Plato through Aristotle to Plotinus, and Fr. Copleston very persuasively argues that the last may well be regarded as a necessary synthesis of the other two. Yet there is no straight line of mechanical progress. The Hellenistic schools represent in many ways a return to pre-Socratic types of thought ; but they preserve the Socratic emphasis on the *person*, and in spite of their otherwise reactionary character they make their own striking contribution to the main stream.

Probably the most admirable feature of Fr. Copleston's work is the way in which he shows how Plato and Aristotle complement and correct each other, each providing something that the other lacks. While mere philologists may perhaps disagree with some of his views—for example, his acceptance of the idea that Book I of the *Republic* is an originally independent early work and his uncertainty about the genuineness of some of the Epistles—they are likely to applaud his judgment in following Cornford rather than Taylor on the *Timaeus* and in taking with due seriousness Aristotle's criticism of Plato regarding the " separation " of the Forms. They will also approve his suggestion that a certain significance attaches to the manner in which Socrates only divines the " Ideal Theory " in his " swan-song," when he becomes " prophetic " in the *Phaedo*, and again to the reference to Diotima of the sublimest part of the *Symposium*. On the other hand, it is probable that he underrates the mystical or ecstatic element in some of the Dialogues, which links Plato with Plotinus. In this respect a reference to Pierre Boyancé's *Culte des Muses chez les Philosophes Grecs* (1937) might have been enlightening. Incidentally one misses also a reference to the recent monumental work of the Dominican Père Festugière, *Contemplation et Vie Contemplative chez Platon*.

The sections of the book which deal with Plato and Aristotle are divided into chapters covering such topics as Theory of Knowledge, Metaphysics, Philosophy of Nature, and Politics. This arrangement of course precludes special treatment of separate works, but valuable discussions will be found under each topic. Thus Fr. Copleston, following Cornford, shows that the real significance of the *Parmenides* lies in its anticipation of Aristotle's criticism of the Forms. In his most stimulating comparison of Plato and Aristotle, he stresses the weakness of the former's thought, which lay in the gap left by it between the Real and the Sensible worlds. The gap was bridged by Aristotle, but he also had his weaknesses, which led him into something dangerously approaching epiphenomenalism in psychology and deism in metaphysics. Fr. Copleston shows marked sympathy for the Platonic approach to the problems of Being and Knowledge, and for the Platonic attitude of St. Bonaventure as contrasted with that of St. Thomas.

The one defect of an excellent book is the extraordinary number of misprints. In particular the numerous Greek quotations are full of errors and the Greek type is antiquated as well as lacking in uniformity. Besides simple misprints there is an irritating number of minor slips such as " *Chios* " for " *Ceos* " on p. 92, " Heraclides of *Ponticus* " on pp. 262 and 265, *quoad nous* on p. 281, " *Diciarchus* " on p. 370, and the statement on p. 385 that Citium is in S.E. Crete. If only to enable the author to make the numerous corrections needed, we hope the book will soon go into a second edition.

M. T.

REALISTS AND NOMINALISTS. By Meyrick H. Carré. Oxford University Press. 1946. 8s. 6d.

As a scholarly treatise on an important aspect of medieval thought, this book is to be welcomed and commended. It would be impossible for the author to attempt an adequate treatment of the question of Realism and Nominalism in a volume of 125 pages, and he has therefore confined his survey to the four most representative names in the history of medieval philosophy: St. Augustine, Peter Abaelard, St. Thomas Aquinas, and William of Ockham. By discussing these cardinal systems Mr. Carré is enabled to trace continuously the development of Theories of Knowledge from the Platonic Realism of St. Augustine to the decline of Scholasticism in the fourteenth century. Further, as a critical account of any one of these systems would require a large volume to itself, the author is obliged to make his treatment mainly expository. He provides an appraisal of the historical role of each writer and a summary of their doctrines, with copious references to their principal works.

St. Augustine's general theory of universals as Ideas in the divine mind, in which all finite beings participate and which illumine the finite intellect, is well known. It is a view which influenced the whole philosophy of the Middle Ages, as well as most of the later Schools of Idealism. Yet the precise nature of the theory and its implications in all parts of Augustine's philosophy are difficult to enucleate and define. In view of the increasing interest in St. Augustine in recent times and the absence anywhere of a simple, systematic exposition of his philosophy, any attempt towards achieving this must be welcome. Here the present work gives a contribution of value. Yet on the main difficulties of Augustine's Theory of Knowledge, concerning the first principles of knowledge, the relation of sense and intellect, our knowledge of the external world, and divine illumination, the author's own solutions are mostly negative. Apart from the principle *si fallor, sum* and the principle of non-contradiction, whose value is formal rather than material, we find no satisfactory criterion of truth. Apprehension of the intelligible Ideas, or of mathematical forms, number and rhythm, scarcely conform to the requirements of a criterion of certitude, whether for our knowledge of the Ideas themselves or of the external world. Neither are we given a satisfactory elucidation of the theory of the body as "the messenger of the soul," the counterpart of Plato's *anima utens corpore*, or of how sensations pass from the body to the mind, or how, if "a great mass" of sensations are made by the mind, they can represent reality. Of the difficult theory of divine illumination there is only a brief treatment, and modern scholars who have written on the question are not referred to. These difficulties are of course incidental to Augustinism, and if they are not solved in Mr. Carré's work, it is well that at least he has made them to appear.

In the case of St. Thomas the author's analysis is clear and connected. Perhaps he has attempted a too wide conspectus of the principles of Thomist philosophy in general, while rather neglecting, in the problem of universals itself, the metaphysical as distinct from the psychological aspect. Yet it is surely in the metaphysical basis of abstraction, rather than in the abstraction itself, that the key to the problem of universals must be sought. One notices here and there strange or ambiguous assertions—for example: "It (the human mind) is an organic composite of mind and body." (p. 77). "The active intellect attains truth, not by direct intuition, but by a process of inquiry and partial approaches, in fact by reasoning." (p. 86). This is not the role of the active intellect in St. Thomas' theory. On the next page (p. 87), however, this role seems to be accurately described.

Mr. Carré shows by an analysis of two of the most important texts of Abaelard that his teaching was a synthesis of Nominalism, Conceptualism and Moderate Realism, marking a transition between the Platonic Realism of St. Augustine and the Aristotelianism of St. Thomas. Abaelard's theory was, in fact, partly an anticipation

of the solution which St. Thomas later adopted from Aristotle. His relations with William of Champeaux and Roscelin are recounted, and his attack on extreme Realism as well as his answers to Porphyry's famous questions are analysed in detail. The application made on p. 37, and attributed to certain theologians, of the Realist theory of universals to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, according to which the substance of bread and wine would be the universal and the accidents their sensible appearance, is erroneous, since here both substance and accidents are concrete and singular. This application is due to a confusion between the distinction of universal and particular and that of substance and accident.

The terministic subtleties and scepticism of Ockham, the Hume of the Middle Ages, are likewise reviewed in some detail, and are shown to have contributed much to the decline of Scholasticism and the disruption of Christian society in the fifteenth century. " And when Luther struck his blow against the edifice of Catholic belief, he hailed Ockham as his master." (p. 122). Although in themselves these terministic disputes of the fourteenth century make wearisome reading, Mr. Carré has presented their substantial content in a readable way, and they do bring out effectively the depth of decline to which Scholasticism had sunk on the eve of the Renaissance, and the strength of this factor in the transition to modern philosophy.

Mr. Carré has thus achieved a substantial synthesis of four important medieval systems, and his work as a whole exhibits a unitary and systematic treatment of the principal medieval discussions on universals. J. H.

Miscellaneous

BEHOLD OUR GREEN MANSIONS. By Richard H. D. Boerker. North Carolina University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1945. 24s.

This fascinating volume must be the Bible of American forestry. How far it can guide the handful of Irish Foresters in their comparatively minute struggles is difficult to gauge. Are Liliputians the wiser for the study of Brobdagnagian text books? At least it is very inspiring for trout fishermen to read the records of the mighty sport of catching tarpon. American forests, even in their depleted condition, compare with the Irish as a whole county compares with a good sized garden.

Forest was largely America's original condition as it was Ireland's, as both evolved from the benevolence of the Creator. In both countries woodland, timber and all their accessories have been recklessly diminished. The time has long past when even conservation of what remains suffices. It has become immediately necessary to repair, rebuild and revive one of man's greatest necessities. For centuries wood was considered in the light of planking, house-building, furniture; and though these can now be supplied from other materials, there has arisen a host of manufactures which can be made from timber. Out of the list let us select wood-pulp for paper alone. Ireland's first step would be to make her own newsprint paper. When this is secured, she can turn to a dozen other industries of first rate value depending on the forest. We are in the wretched condition of slowly reducing our big timber to fuel and smoke. How many years will our standing trees last us, presuming the coal shortage lasts for a generation?

Mr. Boerker has been in the American Forest service since 1910, almost from the time when National Forests were put under administration. He has been through fires and floods such as we can hardly imagine, though we occasionally suffer gentle over-swillings from rivers and minute bonfires in woods. Read the account given of an American forest fire and shudder. With their dry climate and prevalent tourists there is more timber burnt every year than cut out for the use of man. In this Ireland has an advantage. Our plantations are soaking wet most of the year, but

the danger is real and a knowledge of preventing and fighting such fires is an essential of any forest-minded population.

Mr. Boerker asks many questions and supplies answers which his experience dictates. Who can contest his diagrams and figures which are almost astronomical? He asks: "Can private owners grow timber as a profitable crop? To what extent should government control be applied"?

In place of mere conservation he acts on the "dynamic principle of forest restoration for multiple use, with human welfare as the ultimate object". He is convinced that this ideal is practicable. Forests can supply lumber permanently and yet maintain themselves with their new growth. This is being made the condition of the American forests. This was wastefully but none the less the state of the natural forests in Russia as we knew them a generation back.

Forests brought under government protection can offer the "sustained yield". Thirty per cent. come under this heading in America. Every year twenty-two million acres of forest are destroyed by fire! Irish parallels are remote, and we are describing conditions so different from our own that the inspiration may be more useful than the information given by this book.

It is a matter of immense concern that "where the soil goes civilisation goes". History shows us the sand-strewn areas of mighty Empires: China, Babylon, Egypt. These were civilisations which omitted to conserve their trees. Rome and Greece had no forestry services. Is it possible that Spain's present rural condition is due to her barrenness of trees? Irish Gaelic civilisation, with its accompaniments of national life, national language and freedom, was developing under cover of Ireland's forest background. When the timber-adventurers burnt out the Irish woods, all these facets of Irish life became vulnerable.

Mr. Boerker's book gives us much subject for thought, though any subsequent action will have to be on Irish not American lines. Interesting are his accounts of the effect of the revived forests on animal and game life. Perhaps the possibilities of recreation and the touring industry provide us with the most interest. It is inspiring to learn of the vast sums and numbers involved in these. Tourism can be expensive, but recreation can be cheap; and the American people have taken both to their hearts.

It is difficult to know where to open such a book. It is a complete guide to American forestry, and as such can it chiefly be studied. The supreme lesson is that man was set amongst an arboreal Creation and that, however civilised he becomes, he can never do without trees. There must be something in the heart of man which calls him to the trees. In twenty years visitors to the American National Parks increased from 3½ to 40 million! The total income derived from recreation in the forests amounted to 2,000 million dollars. At the same time the most valuable assets are the vitality, health and happiness enjoyed. It is not merely naturalists and campers who use the forests, but the increasing number who find a mental and physical cure under primitive conditions which the spa and watering place never can give. There are more than 3,800 picnic and campground areas.

How does forestry mix with farming? Apparently far more in America than in Ireland, for about two thirds of all the farms have woodlots. Most Irish farmers, even of large and economical farms, would be surprised if you asked them about their woodlot. They would refer you to their fuel-shed. Wood and water depend on the forest. Once the top-soil is stripped, there is a swift runaway of water denuding and flooding the valleys; agriculture becomes difficult, even precarious, and in serious cases comes to an end.

The history of forestry shows that the role of government begins persuasively and educationally. Later developments call for restrictive and police functions. The final stage appears in government management. Only the State can take the

long-view policy, which is lost on most owners of land. It must be agreed that whatever big timber remains in this country is the legacy of landlords, of whom nine-tenths are no longer represented. A certain number of demesnes passing into national management afford a parallel to the American case. Where private owners rush in to squander, the State steps in to restrict, conserve and rejuvenate.

It would be interesting to quote a case where the economics have been saved by State interference. Take the Osceola National Forest in Florida: "The government acquired 160,000 acres for about 800,000 dollars. The first problem was to rehabilitate the badly depleted growing stock. After ten years of federal management the value of the resources doubled, although it is only producing 50 per cent. of its capacity. In 1938 it provided a payroll of 215,000 dollars that supported nearly 2,000 people. Already receipts very nearly balance expenses."

It is interesting to know that this can be done in any part of the world.

SHANE LESLIE

THE DONNELLAN LECTURES 1943. By Lord Dunsany. London: Heinemann. 1945. 6s.

IN reading these three lectures on Prose, Poetry, and Drama respectively one discerns several advantages in a critic of art who is interested in other things besides art. One is that, instead of treating trivialities with the solemnity of an oracle, Lord Dunsany says important things in an amusing and conversational way. Another is that he finds something more momentous to admire in art than mere technique; as he says himself: just as the technique of the diamond-cutter is but a means for revealing the diamond, so the technique of the artist merely reveals the stuff of intelligence that gives its value to the work. Thirdly, he is almost a freak amongst modern critics in being strongly conservative; his attack upon the anarchy of modern art is that of a stout defender of tradition with all its burden of legislation. (And indeed why did the old artists ever submit to their rules if they did not find them a necessary help to art?) In short here is a critic whose thought nearly always sets out in the direction of truth—though occasionally, for want of precision, he may lose his way in the last mile or so. If this verdict is just, it already puts his work amongst the best modern criticism.

I think that most of Lord Dunsany's perplexities arise from his omission to attach a precise sense to the word poetry. He seems to oppose it to prose, for he says that the dividing line between poetry and prose is shadowy. But surely there is no dividing line, for they are not opposed. Poetry, the Greek for "making," is work of the creative imagination expressed in words; it is opposed to science, the discovery of the already "made" or existing, which is work of the exploring reason. The proper medium of poetry is verse, but prose can be a medium too; the proper medium of science is prose, but verse will serve at a pinch. There is nothing more contradictory in the notion of prose poetry than in that of a man going for a swim in a tall hat and frock coat. (Lord Dunsany, who objects to nouns used as adjectives, would perhaps have me write "poetic prose" and "coatly frock"; another sound idea of his here needs precising). And so in the last lecture poetry even seems to be opposed to drama. At all events that interpretation best explains why in this lecture a didactic (hence non-poetic) function is assigned to drama. There is indeed nothing illegitimate in putting a didactic presentation on the stage, like the miracle plays. But many who agree with all Lord Dunsany's other views will not agree with the opinion that drama is essentially and always didactic. There are too many good dramas that teach nothing or teach what is false. I confess that I listen eagerly to Lord Dunsany's own plays on the wireless, not to learn anything, but to be put in a good humour or, as Milton says, for what can quiet one in a death so

noble—or in a life so silly. And since they never fail to produce this effect, I do not know what other function they can have or need have.

But Lord Dunsany is at his best when discussing the criterion of poetry (he confesses that he cannot define its essence). For him the criterion is not diction or fidelity to nature or novelty of imagery or thought or mere emotional reaction to contemporary life. Poetry, no longer confused with verse, " is almost like the call of a horn heard in the morning by a busy man in a town ". It is distinguished from all other forms of literature by its power to suggest more than its own words mean, even if they mean very little, to entice the reader to dream, not indolently, but intensely and with a purpose. It is an invitation to contemplate the possibility of unseen horizons. That this is the one touchstone for every kind of poetry has already been implied by more than one critic. But until it becomes a universally accepted principle there will probably be no cure for that anarchy of modern literature that Lord Dunsany deplores. Incidentally this point illustrates how curiously the thought of this book is misrepresented by the blurb.

It is impossible in a review to note all the wise observations made on subjects of lesser importance in this charming and valuable book. It is impossible, however, to refrain from one ungrateful and malicious last remark. Lord Dunsany has some reproachful pages on printers who dust the pages of authors with unwanted commas as from a pepper canister. But the printer (or his devil) has it in for him ; and a few pages later a line from Homer is grotesquely mutilated and a mistake in Latin grammar is attributed to Virgil.

A. L.

S. AURELI AUGUSTINI DE BEATA VITA. A Translation with an Introduction and Commentary. By Ruth Allison Brown, M.A. Patristic Studies, Vol. LXXII. Washington : Catholic University of America. 1944. pp. xvii+193.

THE purpose of this volume is clearly defined in the Preface : " to edit one of the Dialogues of Cassiciacum (these were written shortly before St. Augustine's baptism), the *de beata vita*, with a translation and commentary in the manner in which one would edit one of the dialogues of Plato or Cicero. The theological problem of St. Augustine's conversion is, of course, not neglected ; but adequate emphasis is placed on the interpretation of the *de beata vita* from the viewpoint of literary form and content."

The work opens with a select bibliography which is sufficiently comprehensive. There follows an introduction treating of the Dialogue as a literary form in antiquity ; of the Pagan Greek Dialogue, the Pagan Latin Dialogue, the Christian Greek Dialogue, the Christian Latin Dialogue before St. Augustine, St. Augustine's Use of the Dialogue Form, and the Christian Latin Dialogue after St. Augustine. The author acknowledges her debt to Hirzel, Christ—Schmid—Stählin, Jordan and others for most of her matter in this section. It may be said at once that she deals with this unwieldy mass with a sure hand, and her own observations reveal a trained and sensitive mind.

A second part of the introduction tells us something of the spiritual background to the *de beata vita* ; of the date, the place, and the circumstances of composition, the participants, the plan of the work, the influence of earlier writers, and of St. Augustine's style. These matters constitute for us the real importance of the *de beata vita*. This section might have been allotted some of the space given to the more general question of the Dialogue form. Miss Brown does not give enough notice to the question of the historicity of the *de beata vita*. This is the pivot of the whole controversy about the sincerity of St. Augustine's conversion in A.D. 386. Did the incidents described in the *de beata vita* actually happen ? Were these

very words spoken? If we can establish the historicity of the Dialogues of Cassiciacum (and it never has been established), then we have a check on the veracity of the *Confessions*. There would still be the delicate matter of interpreting the Dialogues—a task which Miss Brown attempts for the *de beata vita*. In spite of the author's assertion to the contrary (p. 56), I have no hesitation in saying that these Dialogues have passages which are both difficult and obscure. There are two such passages in the *de beata vita*—at the beginning [§ 1-4] and at the end [§§ 34-35]—which have important bearing on the question of St. Augustine's conversion and his idea of the Christian Trinity. Miss Brown's translation and notes do not elucidate sufficiently.

The text and translation are printed conveniently on opposite pages. The translation is, for the most part, accurate, well written and clear. It is to be regretted that the author omits to register variant readings at the end of each page. Thus the important reading: "lectis autem *Plotini* paucissimis libris" is incorporated without any notice being given on the spot that there is nearly as much to be said for the reading *Platonis*. Miss Brown does say something of the matter in her commentary.

The commentary and indices (Locorum, Nominum et Rerum, Verborum et Locutionum) show a wide acquaintance with the background necessary for such work as this and a sure grasp of sound methodological principles.

On p. 10 read Δειπυοσοφισταί for Δειπνοσοφιστα; "is" for "as" on p. 12, line 6; and "Lastidianus" for "Lartidianus" on p. 37 et passim.

JOHN J. O'MEARA

THE QUALITY OF MERCY. By Rt. Rev. Hugh F. Blunt, LL.D. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. 1945.

THE FAMILY THAT OVERTOOK CHRIST. By Rev. M. Raymond, O.C.S.O. Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1945. 12s. 6d.

A CLAIM that there was anything very much in common between these two books would be hard to substantiate. The one is a treatise on the Spiritual and Corporal Works of Mercy; the other is an account of the family of the great St. Bernard. There is, however, this similarity between them that both are written in a somewhat popular vein and come from the pens of authors already known by other works.

With an abundance of illustration Msgr. Blunt reviews the meaning and scope of the corporal and spiritual works of mercy as they are classified in Catholic catechisms. He sets them ably against their scriptural background and shows how they find their application in the modern world. One might perhaps complain that, by the very abundance of illustration employed by him, Msgr. Blunt runs a risk of bewildering rather than inspiring an ordinary reader. But if this is so, it is a fault which the reader, by widening his acquaintance with the lives of the saints and the various works of charity carried on by different organisations in the Church, may easily correct. In connection with the work of clothing the naked, Msgr. Blunt seems to find greater difficulty in seeing its practical application for the average man in the modern world than is perhaps warranted by the circumstances. In America, possibly, the conspicuous need for the exercise of this great work of mercy is not so apparent as it is in our midst, where repeated appeals for footwear and clothing of all kinds prove that Our Blessed Lord was very much in touch with reality when He urged on his followers, amongst other things, to clothe the naked.

As has been true of his other books, so in regard to this book from the pen of Fr. Raymond, opinion is likely to be somewhat divided: there will be those for whom it will be full of appeal, while others will not be so susceptible to its attraction. In many ways it is a daring work. It would tell in some 300 pages the story not

of one saint only but of a family of saints, for such would appear to have been the character of the family from which the great St. Bernard sprang. Fr. Raymond's book, as one might expect, is full of very sound spiritual common-sense, but whether its simplifications of the problems of life is not at times rather too ingenuous is open to question. At the end of it also, while one will admittedly come away immensely impressed with the spiritual stature of the family of which St. Bernard came, it is doubtful whether one's esteem for the individual members of that family will have been deepened in any notable degree. The task of course which Fr. Raymond has set himself is not an easy one. In the hope of widening its appeal he has deliberately chosen to cast his story in the style of an historical novel—which deals with the history, not of yesterday, but of some seven hundred years ago. That in an undertaking so difficult he has achieved the measure of success that is his is no small achievement. C. O'C.

THE ANATOMY OF COURAGE. By Lord Moran. London: Constable. 1945. 8s. 6d.

ADMITTEDLY, courage is harder to dissect than the human body. It is more difficult to put together the elements we have detected and to reconstruct the organic whole with its parts differing in function. Science and experiment deal with relatively simple things; psychology, ascetics, metaphysics and theology with more complex realities. We need not, therefore, be surprised if Lord Moran fails to explain what courage is.

If one wishes to be captious, he may pick out of this little book many *obiter dicta* about courage which seem contradictory: Courage is will-power; courage is discipline or self-control; it is phlegm, lack of imagination, because the courageous person does not picture or forestall what may befall him or others; courage rests on an idea greater than fear; courage is a moral quality. On the whole, however, Lord Moran seems to incline to the opinion that courage is a moral quality resting on certain motives: for example, the worth of things defended by it, the sense of the shallowness of earthly things, the pride in the regiment or in the career of arms, the sense of comradeship and dependence on others in a common danger. Lord Moran sometimes states his view in a downright way—" A man of character in peace is a man of courage in war "; and though this statement may need much qualification, it shows the view that Lord Moran favours most.

It is surprising to read that courage is not common. To discuss this proposition profitably it would be necessary to define one's terms, to dissect more thoroughly than Lord Moran does, the subject of inquiry. The book is meant for a wide public; it does not go deeply into the subject; and it raises more problems than it solves. The chapter on Leadership contains nothing new. J. E. C.

(The list of books received has been unavoidably held over)

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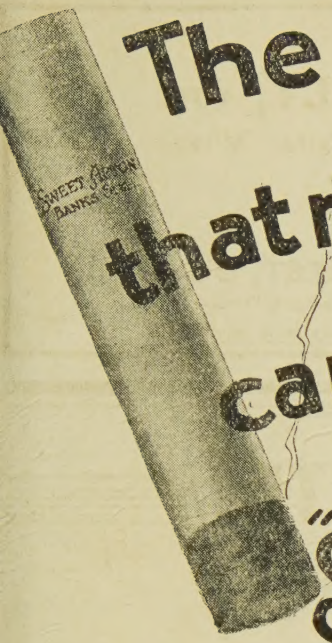

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